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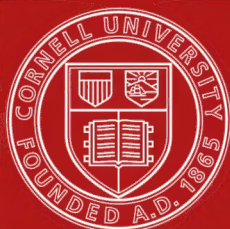
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THE
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BY THE SAME AUTHOR

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HODDER & STOUGHTON, LONDON



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Encre de Chine

Mary Stuart as Dauphine

From a drawing attributed to François Clouet in the Bibliothèque Nationale Paris

THE GIRLHOOD OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

FROM HER LANDING IN FRANCE IN AUGUST 1548
TO
HER DEPARTURE FROM FRANCE IN AUGUST 1561

BY
JANE T. STODDART

“Die Tochter einer Guise und selbst eine Guise von dem
Grunde ihres leidenschaftlichen Herzens aus: Maria Stuart.”

(“The daughter of a Guise and herself a Guise from the
depths of her passionate heart: Mary Stuart.”)

ERICH MARCKS.

WITH SIX ILLUSTRATIONS IN PHOTOGRAVURE

HODDER AND STOUGHTON
PUBLISHERS LONDON

TO
DR. ROBERTSON NICOLL

PREFACE

THE phrase of Professor Marcks which is quoted on the title-page explains the origin as well as the plan of this narrative. The writer had been for some years closely occupied with the history of the Guises, as set out in their private correspondence between 1538 and 1588, when the story of Queen Mary's girlhood in France began to disengage itself from the larger subject. The homes of the Guises acquired a new interest on holiday visits as early homes of the Scottish Queen.

Although the space of time here dealt with covers only thirteen years, they were years of vital importance in Mary's personal history and in the larger concerns of France and Europe. Her life falls into four clearly marked divisions: the infancy in Scotland, the thirteen years in France, the six years of stormy rule, and the years in prison. In France Mary bore a spotless reputation, though she enjoyed there two years at least of comparative personal liberty, during which her character was free to develop along its natural lines. The Court gossip-mongers, who did not leave unassailed the conduct even of such highly placed women as Anne d'Este, Duchess of Guise, and Margaret of Valois, sister of Henry II., would have been ready to calumniate Mary on the slightest pretext. Brantôme tells us that Antoine de Bourbon, King of Navarre, wished to repudiate his

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wife Jeanne on religious grounds and to marry the royal widow. Damville, one of the Constable's sons, also a married man, is named as a fervent admirer, and he travelled in the Queen's train to Scotland. M. Dargaud suggests that this rough soldier, whose favourite companion, in later years, was his tame wolf, had actually won the Queen's heart, and that but for his marriage, in 1559, to Mademoiselle de Bouillon, granddaughter of Diane de Poitiers, he might have aspired to a royal alliance. M. Dargaud mentions that the Queen was accused of having advised Damville to poison his wife, so that no obstacle might remain between them.¹ He goes on, however, to remark: "This first accusation was never proved, and history repudiates it as a calumny." One of Mary's letters bears eloquent testimony to her affection for Mademoiselle de Bouillon, whom she suggested as a bride for Arran. "She loves me so much," wrote the Queen to her mother in May 1557, "that she is willing to marry anybody who is chosen for her, if only she may always remain with me."² Faithfulness to friends and attendants who were faithful to her was one of the Queen's most noticeable characteristics, and there is not a shadow of proof that for the sake of Damville she advised the poisoning of an early companion.

That "Letter from a Person unknown" to Robert Dudley which was sent from Orleans on December 31, 1560, fairly represents contemporary opinion as to Mary's conduct during her later months in France: "For assuredly the quene of Scotland her majesties cosen dothe carrye herselfe so honorably, advisedlye

¹ *Histoire de Marie Stuart*, par J. M. Dargaud, vol. i. p. 116.

² Labanoff, *Recueil*, vol. i. p. 42.

Preface

and dyscryptede as I can not but feare her progresse.”¹

Political events in France during Mary's girlhood have been treated in this book, as far as possible, from a personal standpoint, in their bearing on the Queen's own life, and on the careers of her relatives of the house of Guise. Within these thirteen years are included such incidents of national importance as the siege of Metz (1552), the battle of Renty (1554), the defeat of the French at Saint-Quentin (1557), the taking of Calais from the English (1558), and the great European settlement of Cateau-Cambrésis (1559). Mary left France before the outbreak of the Wars of Religion, but seeds were sown during her childhood which sprang up in that harvest of blood.

It is probable that fresh facts of minor importance connected with these thirteen years of Mary's history may be disclosed as the libraries of Europe are ransacked for hitherto unpublished diplomatic letters. In the *Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique* for 1899 and 1900, for example, valuable letters were published from the MSS in the Imperial Library of St. Petersburg. They were gleanings from the portfolio of Sébastien de l'Aubespine, Bishop of Limoges, French Ambassador at the Court of Spain, whose main body of correspondence was so admirably edited by M. Louis Paris. In one of these letters, dated July 20, 1560, the Bishop of Limoges wrote to Queen Mary that he was sending her a book on chess by Le Saffre, “un des plus grands joueurs d'eschecs qui se soit jamais trouvé.” After beating all Italy and the rest of the world where he had travelled, Le Saffre had arrived at Madrid. The Bishop sent the book

¹ *Illustrations of the Reign of Queen Mary* (Maitland Club), p. 84.

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because he understood that Mary took much pleasure in the game.

The Guises, as René de Bouillé says, were almost the last representatives, if not of the feudal system, at least of a powerful aristocracy which continually menaced the throne. In Queen Mary's childhood no observer could have foretold the early downfall of their greatness. Between 1548 and 1561 they were strengthening their position yearly by new ecclesiastical dignities, wealthy matrimonial alliances, and the acquisition of estates. The births of sons to the Dukes of Guise and Aumale and to the Marquis d'Elbœuf gave promise, as the Cardinal of Lorraine wrote, that "our Lord does not mean to leave our house without heirs." Homes of the Guises, during this period, were scattered over the north-eastern and central provinces. The Cardinal, who in troublous times used daily in his private devotions the 31st Psalm, must often have recited one verse with a consciousness of the might of the house of Guise: "*Benedictus Dominus, quoniam mirificavit misericordiam suam mihi in civitate munita.*" Now the moss covers a few mouldering fragments of stone which mark the site of the feudal stronghold of Joinville, and even in Rheims we search in vain for the Cardinal's statue.

While the works of predecessors in this most interesting field—especially those of Miss Strickland, Father Stevenson, and M. de Ruble—have been carefully consulted at every point, the writer may fairly claim to have introduced a great deal of matter which was not used by any of these historians, and to have approached the subject from a fresh point of view.

NOTES ON SOME FRENCH AUTHORITIES

THE general sources on which the writer has drawn are indicated, as far as possible, by notes throughout the volume, but a few comments on some less known French authorities may not be out of place.

The Balcarres Papers in the Advocates' Library in Edinburgh have been freely used. Although many of the letters in this priceless Collection have been published in full,¹ there is sufficient unpublished material to reward the student for many days and weeks of research. It is a curious fact that French historians, with the exception of Francisque-Michel, have not followed Prince Labanoff in exploring these treasures. The Marquis de Pimodan, in preparing his work, *La Mère des Guises*, which contains many letters of Antoinette de Bourbon, gathered nothing from Scotland. M. de Ruble, in writing *La Première Jeunesse de Marie Stuart*, had not, as far as appears, any original knowledge of this storehouse. M. Edmond Bapst, in his learned work, *Les Mariages de Jacques V.*, copies the few references he requires from the Balcarres Papers from the first volume of Francisque-

¹ Besides the volumes of Prince Labanoff, we may mention the letters of Henry II. in the *Mailland Club Miscellany*, and the *Lettres de Quelques Hauts Personnages à la reine d'Écosse, Marie de Guise*.

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Michel. It seems likely that French historians of the last fifty years have supposed that Prince Labanoff had gone, as the Antiquary proposed to go to the ruins of St. Ruth, and had fairly trenched the area, laying bare every treasure connected with Queen Mary. Francisque-Michel, in preparing his volumes, *Les Écossais en France* (1862), was fortunate in having the help of some of the chief historical experts of his time. He says in his preface that he owed much to Mr. David Laing and Mr. William Turnbull, both of whom placed their collection of documents at his disposal. The passages he was able to quote from the Balcarres Papers have greatly enriched his narrative. The writer desires to thank Mr. W. K. Dickson, Keeper of the Advocates' Library, for the courtesy with which these Papers were placed at her disposal. For students of the sixteenth century there can be few more memorable days than that on which we handle for the first time these volumes, which contain the manuscripts of great personages of Queen Mary's time. On one page we find a clearly written note from the future Cardinal of Lorraine as a schoolboy, on others letters in which Francis of Lorraine, afterwards Duke of Guise, mentions (and makes light of) the terrible wounds he received during his early experiences of war.

Although the letters here printed in full from this Collection have been limited to those which bear directly upon Queen Mary's life in France, many others have been indirectly helpful. The transcripts used for publication have been made by a well-known expert, the Rev. Henry Paton, M.A.

The writer has also examined many of the relevant letters in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and must

Notes on some French Authorities

thank M. Charles de la Roncière, the eminent authority on the French Navy, for directing her attention to M. de Brézé's letter, written from Roscoff on August 18, 1548. Some of the letters from the Bibliothèque, printed in Appendix A, have been quoted in part by M. de Ruble or M. Guiffrey. The latter historian, in his *Lettres de Dianne de Poytiers* (1866), displayed a wealth of learning by which he has laid all subsequent writers under debt. His notes, in which almost every personage named in the letters of Diane de Poitiers forms the subject of a separate discussion, are largely based on manuscript sources. The historian who has made fullest use of M. Guiffrey's researches is the late M. de Ruble, whose own numerous original works, with his editions of sixteenth-century authors, are an indispensable possession for the student.

The best of the Guise historians is René de Bouillé, whose four volumes (1849) are never likely to be superseded. He made cautious and discriminating use of the manuscript histories of Oudin and Fornier, in the Bibliothèque Nationale. M. de Pimodan remarks that while these two old writers err on the side of panegyric and seek to represent the Guises as at all times faithful servants of the French monarchy, they are correct as a rule on every point on which it is still possible to check them. "From that fact we may assume the general accuracy of these historians, who had in their hands documents which are now lost. Oudin, 'an ecclesiastic by profession' as he says in his preface, belonged very probably to a family of standing, which came from the neighbourhood of Joinville, where the Guises exercised a kind of regal sway. . . . All the Oudins were learned and well-instructed men. Fornier (Pierre-Pol), a lawyer at the Parliamentary bar, no

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doubt had to do professionally with the business of the Guises. He must have known all their papers.”¹

M. Forneron's well-known work in two volumes, *Les Ducs de Guise et leur Époque* (2nd edition, 1893), though brightly written and more attractive to the general reader than that of René de Bouillé, depends more on the gossip of contemporary memoirs than on original research. In his preface M. Forneron says : “ Books have already been written on the history of the House of Guise ; from them we have learned all that can be drawn from the manuscripts preserved in our archives ; but the authors have made no use of the researches of foreign historians. Yet it has become difficult to speak of the events of the sixteenth century without studying the works of Gachard in Belgium, of Froude in England, of Ranke in Germany, of Prescott and Motley in America, of Alberi in Italy.”

As a general introduction to the history of the Guises, M. Forneron's book has great value, but he made no attempt to obtain new facts, and he relies on memoirs such as those of Vieilleville and Tavannes, which are now discredited. Professor Lemonnier, in his bibliography for the reign of Henry II. (Lavissee, *History of France*, vol. v. part ii. pp. 123, 124²) remarks : “ La plupart des Mémoires sont extrêmement suspects, et c'est précisément chez eux qu'on a pris tant d'anecdotes, qui continuent à avoir cours dans presque tous les livres.” He adds in a later paragraph : “ Les Mémoires de Gaspard de Saux Tavannes, 1530-1573 (Michaud et Poujoulat, t. viii.) doivent être écartés. Il en est de même de ceux dits de Vieilleville : voir Ch. Marchand, *Le*

¹ *La Mère des Guises*, pp. 11, 12 (note).

² This volume appeared in 1904.

Notes on some French Authorities

Maréchal François de Scépeaux de Vieilleville et ses Mémoires, 1893."

It is surprising that any reader of Charles Marchand's learned work should still continue to quote Vincent Carloix's *Mémoires de Vieilleville* as a reliable authority. M. Marchand ranked them as among tales for Christmas firesides.

While some of the most popular of the old memoirs must be discarded by the modern student, there are many contemporary booklets which will repay a closer examination than they have hitherto received. In this class we may place the descriptions of royal entrances into the great cities, the accounts of wedding festivities and municipal banquets, the stories of royal and princely funerals, and the memorial sermons. The sermon of Claude Despençe on the death of Mary of Lorraine, with its touching dedication to her daughter, Queen Mary, is very little known, though a reference to it was made by Francisque-Michel. In the numerous biographies of the Queen we have not been able to find any quotations from one of her favourite poets, the Sieur de Maisonneuve.

Much has been gathered from the relevant works belonging to the "Collection de Documents inédits," and especially from the *Négociations sous François II.*, edited by Louis Paris; the Negotiations with Tuscany and the Levant; the Letters of Catherine de' Medici, edited by Count de la Ferrière; and the reports of the Venetian ambassadors published by Tommaseo, which so usefully supplement the larger collection of Alberi.

Some of the personal letters of the Guises have been translated from the *Mémoires-Journaux* of the

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Duke Francis of Guise (Michaud et Poujoulat, 1st Series, vol. vi.). Others are from the volumes of Teulet, Labanoff, and Father Pollen. A few have been taken from René de Bouillé, the Marquis de Pimodan, and Joseph de Croze.

For the Tumult of Amboise, careful use has been made of the articles of M. Charles Paillard in the *Revue Historique* (vol. xiv.), and of M. Mignet in the *Journal des Savants*.

A list of the historians and memoir writers consulted for this volume would be useless without particular references, and these will be found in the notes. There is one question, however, which must be of the deepest interest to every student of Queen Mary's life in France. How far is Regnier de la Planche a trustworthy historian? Michelet and Professor Baird have accepted his statements without reserve. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that the worst stories told against the Guises rest on his authority, and these are passed from book to book without note or qualification. Yet there can be no doubt that any future historian of the Huguenots would be expected to sift with the closest scrutiny every statement made by La Planche in the principal work ascribed to him: *Histoire de l'Estat de France . . . sous le règne de François II*. Is this a serious history, or must it be classed with that amusing jeu d'esprit, *Le Livre des Marchands*, which is unmistakably from the same pen?

The best known modern editions of the *Histoire de l'Estat de France* are those of M. Mennechet (1836) and of the Panthéon Littéraire. M. Mennechet, in his preface, deals impartially with the merits of Regnier de la Planche. He quotes the tribute of

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De Thou, according to which La Planche was “très versé dans les négociations.” He goes on: “If the Queen-Mother considered that he was the man who could best enlighten her on the true cause of the factions which were disturbing France at that time, we think it our duty to follow the example of Catherine de’ Medici, and to ask from that historian the truth about the short and troubled reign of Francis II. But has La Planche really told us the truth which we seek? Has not his zeal for the Reformed doctrines led him to misrepresent facts which were opposed to them; and even if we admit his good faith, has not his judgment been sometimes led astray by passion? We must recognise it frankly; the historian has never been able to cast off the Huguenot. His partiality for the Reformed Church is to be seen on every page. Fortunately the very violence of his sarcasms against Rome and the Catholic clergy puts us on our guard against the severity of his accusations. As he was before all things an honest man, we must, in justice to him, admit that he never sacrificed a truth to his religious opinions. He had a sarcastic turn of mind, and often yields to that tendency, but it is rather in his way of judging facts than in the statement of the facts themselves that he shows his doctrines. His contemporaries all admitted his veracity, and we have not found the events which he narrates disputed by any historian of his time.”

This last sentence reminds us that writers such as Le Laboureur and Guiffrey have shown that Regnier de la Planche is mistaken on important facts. Le Laboureur refutes his shocking story of the death of the Chancellor Ollivier, and M. Guiffrey, in a long

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and elaborate inquiry, proves the inaccuracy of one of his stories about Diane de Poitiers. Two points must be kept in mind as we read the narrative of Regnier de la Planche. He was a friend of the Constable Montmorency, and belonged politically to the party most opposed to the Guises. He was also a Huguenot, and therefore opposed to them on religious questions. While accepting his history as a valuable source of information, we must in fairness to the Guises make allowance for his point of view. Professor Mariéjol, who bases his account of the Tumult of Amboise largely on the statements of La Planche, says: "A complete legend, which may not be very far removed from the truth, formed itself around the victims of the Guises."¹ His view is therefore substantially that of Mennechet.

This is not the place for a discussion of the anti-Guise libels generally, but a few words may be permitted, as some of these pamphlets have a direct bearing on our subject. This is notably the case with the *Letter to the Tiger of France*, by François Hotman, and *La Légende de Charles Cardinal de Lorraine*, by François de l'Isle (a *nom-de-plume*, it is believed, of Regnier de la Planche).

In thinking of the heroic Huguenot martyrs and of that soldier-saint and statesman, Gaspard de Coligny, we can only echo the words of Michelet: "May these mighty hearts breathe on us their breath of freedom, and pour upon our dryness some drops of their abundant rains." But the anonymous libeller is one of the ugliest personalities of history, and no appreciation of literary merit ought to blind us to the methods of his dark trade. The genius

¹ Lavisso *History of France*, vol. vi. part i. p. 18.

Notes on some French Authorities

of François Hotman has led historians to extenuate or even to approve the publication of that hideous libel, the *Letter to the Tiger of France*. Who suffered the penalty of this outrage? Not the writer, secure in his anonymity behind the walls of Strasbourg, but a poor Paris printer, Martin Lhomme, who had dared to circulate the pamphlet, and a harmless merchant of Rouen, Robert Dehors, whose only fault was that he had ventured, on seeing the crowd about to lynch the prisoner on the way to execution, to appeal for a quiet passage for Martin Lhomme to the scaffold. Michel de l'Hôpital tells us that the Cardinal of Lorraine was accustomed to laugh at the gossip of the populace, and minded it no more than if a dog had barked at him as he left the house. It was the infuriated mob of Paris, quite as much as the Guises, who demanded these victims. The darts launched at public personages too often struck the helpless and the innocent. While the Protestant libels deserve attentive reading, they must be checked at every point by comparison with the known facts of history.

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The photogravure entitled "François, Dauphin of France, and Mary Stuart" is published in this volume by kind permission of Mr. John Murray.

INTRODUCTION

THE course of political events in Scotland during the ten years which preceded the removal of Queen Mary to France may be very briefly outlined.

From the date of the marriage of Margaret Tudor, daughter of Henry VII. of England, with James IV. of Scotland (August 1503) there had been an English and a French party among the Scottish nobility. M. Edmond Bapst remarks that the marriage of Margaret Tudor did not merely result in a temporary peace between England and Scotland ; it had a far more lasting influence. " It turned towards England the attention of the Scottish nobles, who in earlier days had looked to France alone. The arrival of Margaret fixes the date of the formation of a genuinely English party at the court of the Stuarts." ¹

The disastrous day of Flodden (September 9, 1513) turned Scottish hearts once more towards the ancient French alliance. The Three Estates, assembled at Perth in November 1513, received proposals from Louis XII. for the renewal of the league between France and Scotland. Louis offered to send Albany to Scotland with men and arms for the defence of the country against England. On this incident, M. Bapst remarks: " Of his own accord, Louis XII. met the wishes of a conquered people,—a step which

¹ *Les Mariages de Jacques V.*, p. 4.

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could not but produce a keen impression on the assembly and dispose it to accept without discussion all the stipulations formulated by the King of France.”¹

As the infant James v. grew towards manhood, it was natural, says this French authority, that he should wish to contract a marriage under the most favourable conditions ; in other words, that he should seek a wife whose family connections would secure to Scotland the alliance of a powerful State. “ With this object in view, he entered by turns into negotiations with the three great sovereigns of the period, the King of France, the King of England and the Emperor ; he asked each of them for the hand of one of their nearest relatives. But none of the three cared to give his daughter or his sister to a poor and weak monarch : they replied by offering him other princesses than the one whom he had suggested, or by postponing to a distant date the fulfilment of his desires.”²

After endless delays and difficulties, James v. became the husband of Madeleine, daughter of Francis i. In order to secure her hand, he had refused the Princess first offered to him by Francis, Mary of Bourbon. The wedding of James v. and Madeleine was celebrated on New Year's Day 1537 in the Cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris. The wedding festivities, like those of James's daughter twenty-one years later, were held in the stately hall of the Palais de Justice. Fourteen Scottish ships waited in the port of Havre to receive the young couple, and Francis i. lent them eight French vessels as an escort. Wild weather delayed the voyage,

¹ *Les Mariages de Jacques V.*, p. 9.

² *Ibid.* p. 5.

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and at Rouen Madeleine became so ill that her immediate death was expected. On May 11 the embarkation took place, and on May 19 the King and Queen were received, amid demonstrations of joy, at the port of Leith. Scarcely had the fragile Princess touched the soil of her Northern kingdom when fever attacked her, and a doctor was summoned from Paris. She had a brief rally, but her malady developed swiftly in the harsh climate, and on July 7 she died at Holyrood. "She was deeply mourned," writes Brantôme, "by the King and all the country ; for she was very good and made herself greatly beloved. She was very intelligent, wise and virtuous."

David Beaton, afterwards the noted Cardinal, was sent to France in August on a mission of condolence, and with instructions to arrange a second French alliance for his master. The lady proposed by the French King was Mary of Lorraine, eldest daughter of Claude, first Duke of Guise, and widow of the Duke of Longueville. M. Bapst remarks on this offer: "Although Francis declared that he 'could make no better choice,' the offer made to James of a widow encumbered with two infants¹ was a strange one ; and but for the influence of the Cardinal [John] of Lorraine, it is probable that the King would have selected another Princess. The ambitious prelate was able to use adroitly in his niece's favour the credit he had won with Francis. The Duke of Guise had also sought to win the throne of Scotland for his daughter ;

¹ Francis, Duke of Longueville, eldest son of Mary of Lorraine, was born on October 30, 1535, and died on September 22, 1551. Mary's second son, Louis d'Orléans, was born on August 4, 1537, two months after the death of his father. He died in December of the same year.

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as soon as he learned the object of Beaton's mission, he had wished to hurry to see James v., and to offer him, of his own accord, his daughter's hand, but the war against the Emperor had prevented the realisation of this fine plan. He was obliged to remain in his government of Champagne, and had, as events fell out, no reason to complain of this piece of ill-luck, since the cause of his daughter was, immediately afterwards, pleaded by the King of France himself." ¹

Henry VIII. came forward as a rival for the hand of the Duchess of Longueville, and the house of Guise was disposed to accede to his wishes, while the young widow, doubtless instructed by her relatives, used cautious and temporising language.² Francis I., however, considered himself definitely pledged to his son-in-law, and the Guises were obliged to accept the less imposing of the two alliances. The private correspondence of Antoinette de Bourbon shows that the family were by no means satisfied with the marriage contract drawn up by the King, but that they dreaded to offend him by pressing the claims of the little Duke of Longueville.

In June 1538, Mary of Lorraine, then aged twenty-three, landed at Crail in Fife, and met her bridegroom at St. Andrews. The nuptial blessing was pronounced in the Cathedral church. Pitscottie tells how at her entry a great cloud was caused by the Lyon-Herald, Sir David Lindesay of the Mount, to come out of heaven. It opened, and there appeared a fair lady, most like an angel, having the keys of Scotland in her hands, and delivered them to the Queen, in sign and token that all the hearts of Scotland were open to receive her Grace.

¹ *Les Mariages de Jacques V.*, pp. 314, 315.

² *Ibid.* p. 321.

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Two sons were born to the King and Queen, and the succession to the throne seemed again secure. We may gather from the tone of Antoinette de Bourbon's letters that her daughter was happy, on the whole, during the four and a half years of her married life in Scotland. The duties of the nursery and the Court, the constant communication with her relatives in France, may have kept her from brooding over the tragedies which had darkened the history of the royal house for four generations. As Dr. Hill Burton says : " Through all its passionate and bloody restlessness Scotland was advancing in wealth and strength, and taking a place for itself among European Powers. It is over the personal history of the kings themselves that there hangs a gloom. Not one of them had lived to pay the simple debt of human life to the natural laws of vitality. Battle and murder and sudden death had swept away four of them ; the fifth died of a spirit broken down by the weight of calamities." ¹

Unlike his father, James v. failed to win the trust and affection of his nobility. When the inevitable war with England broke out in 1542, he was to find that the great territorial lords had resented his confiscation of many estates alienated from the Crown during his minority, and his general policy of insult and injury.

Misfortunes began to gather thickly upon him in 1541, when he lost both his infant sons. The kingdom, which had been tortured by long minorities, was now again without an heir. In the summer of 1541 Henry VIII. proposed, through Sir Ralph Sadler, that his nephew should meet him, and an interview was arranged at York for the month of September. Henry

¹ *History of Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 187. Edition of 1905.

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duly appeared at the appointed place, but James failed to keep his engagement, having been dissuaded by his clerical advisers from venturing into England. Francis I., who at the time was in bad relations with Henry, had also opposed the interview. Indignant at his nephew's discourtesy, Henry talked of seizing the Scottish King and conveying him as a prisoner to England. An expedition was fitted out under the leadership of the Duke of Norfolk, who had instructions to march upon Edinburgh. Norfolk burnt Roxburgh and Kelso, but his movements were so harassed by the enemy that he was forced to retire into England. James v., meanwhile, had collected an army of 36,000 men, and proceeded to Fala Moor, expecting a battle. On learning that Norfolk had retreated he was eager for a pursuit, but his nobles declined to cross the Border. They alleged the danger to the King's life in the event of another Flodden, reminding him, no doubt, that there was not now even an infant to succeed him on the throne.

On November 24, 1542, the disastrous battle of Solway Moss brought the King's misfortunes to a climax. Sir Oliver Sinclair, a personal favourite of James v., announced before the engagement, and when the enemy was already in sight, that he was commissioned by the sovereign to head the troops. The nobles refused to accept his leadership, and the entire Scottish army fell into confusion. They were driven back upon the Esk, which they attempted to cross by a narrow ford where they were at the mercy of the English. The King had sent them into battle without a leader, and it is not surprising that panic overwhelmed a host which was broken by dissensions. The dead numbered only twenty, but there were

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1200 prisoners, including two earls, five barons, and about five hundred lairds and gentlemen.¹

On this disaster Professor Hume Brown remarks :—

“It is the concurrent testimony of the early Scottish historians that the tidings of Solway Moss cut off the last hope of James, and was the immediate cause of his premature and pathetic death. His misfortunes of the last few years had all converged to one end. The loss of his children, the miscarriage of his desires at Fala Moor, and the late ignominious overthrow, tended alike to foreclose the policy to which willingly or unwillingly he had committed himself since he had become a responsible sovereign. With England hostile, his most powerful subjects alienated and France a dubious ally, a greater spirit than that of James might well have abandoned hope ; and beaten down by his successive disasters James succumbed to his evil fortunes.”²

James was at Lochmaben when the news of the disaster reached him. He removed to Edinburgh, and thence to Falkland, where on December 6 he took to his bed, stricken with mortal illness. His mind was haunted with visions of shame and sorrow, and he was heard to murmur, in delirious wanderings, the name of his favourite, Oliver Sinclair, who had not died honourably on the field, like so many brave Scotsmen at Flodden, but had been captured with the royal standard in his charge.

On December 8, 1542, Mary Stuart was born in the Palace of Linlithgow, and on December 14 her father passed away, aged thirty years and eight months. The tidings of the birth of his child had brought him no consolation. “Far from being up-

¹ Professor Hume Brown, *History of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 394, 395.

² *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 395.

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lifted by the news," writes Dr. Hay Fleming, "his thoughts reverted to Marjory Bruce, through whom the throne had come to the Stuarts, and according to Knox, he exclaimed, 'The devil go with it! It will end as it began. It came from a woman and it will end in a woman.' Or, as Pitscottie has it, 'It came with a lass and it will pass with a lass.'"¹

Cardinal Beaton, immediately after the King's death, produced a will—now believed to have been a forged document—by which he, Argyle, Moray, and Huntly were appointed Governors of the kingdom. The fraudulent nature of this instrument was at once suspected, and the Regency was conferred upon James, Earl of Arran, the next heir to the crown after Mary. He was proclaimed Governor on January 3, 1543.

Henry VIII. now conceived the plan of uniting the infant heiress of Scotland in marriage with his own son Edward, a child of five. He allowed the Solway prisoners to return to Scotland, having pledged them, by solemn oaths, to further his interests in their native land. A double treaty between England and Scotland was concluded in Greenwich on July 1, 1543. It was provided that Mary Stuart should marry Edward on the completion of her tenth year, and that from the date of the treaties peace should be preserved between the two kingdoms until a year after the death of one or other of the parties. Henry VIII. was far from satisfied with this arrangement, as he had wished the Queen to be delivered at once into his keeping, and had also insisted on the rupture of the Scottish league with France.

The infant Queen was removed on July 26 from

¹ *Mary Queen of Scots*, p. 2.

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Linlithgow to Stirling Castle, and at Stirling she was crowned on September 9. Cardinal Beaton, who headed the party opposed to Henry VIII., became reconciled at the same time to his old enemy Arran, who had been counted on as a favourer of English interests. Henry had made flattering offers to Arran, even promising the hand of the Princess Elizabeth for his eldest son. He learned with fury of the Governor's falling away to the Cardinal's party. The strength of that party became apparent in the Parliament which met in December (1543). In this Parliament the Greenwich treaties were declared null and void, and the ancient alliance with France was renewed. Beaton, now Chancellor of Scotland, set himself to the task of stamping out heresy. At Dundee and at Perth there were executions for religion.

Henry VIII. sent the Earl of Hertford into Scotland in the spring of 1544, with instructions to lay waste the country and seize Edinburgh. With ruthless severity, the veteran soldier made himself the executioner of his master's revenge. Leith and Edinburgh were captured, and Hertford boasted that he had desolated the country to within six miles of Stirling. In 1545 Hertford devastated the Border district. He destroyed five market towns, two hundred and forty-three villages, and sixteen fortified places. "The ruin of the abbeys of Kelso, Melrose, Dryburgh, Roxburgh and Coldingham," writes Professor Hume Brown, "was the work of Hertford's miscellaneous host and not of the followers of John Knox, as till recent years was the accepted tradition of Scottish history."¹

¹ *History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 19.

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The chief events of the year 1546 were the martyrdom of George Wishart, the murder of Cardinal Beaton, and the siege of the Castle of St. Andrews.¹ Henry VIII. died on January 28, 1547, but his death brought no peace to distracted Scotland. For the third time Hertford (now Duke of Somerset) invaded the country, and on September 10, 1547, won the battle of Pinkie. After this disaster the child Queen was removed for greater security to the island of Inchmahome, in the Lake of Menteith.

The Governor, the Queen Dowager, and the principal nobles resolved to appeal for aid to Henry II., proposing in return for his aid, that Mary should be sent to France, to be educated under his care, and eventually married to the Dauphin.

In June 1548, Henry dispatched a force of 6000 men to Scotland, under the command of André de Montalembert, Sieur d'Essé, and Leo Strozzi. The first task of the French was that of driving the English troops out of Haddington.² On July 7, a week after the opening of the siege, a Parliament was held in the Abbey of Haddington, about a mile from the town. The French King's plans were made known to the Estates through his Lieutenant-General, M. d'Essé. He asked that a marriage should be arranged between the Queen of Scots and his son, the Dauphin Francis. In return he promised to defend Scotland against her enemies, and to maintain her independence

¹ The Castilians surrendered on July 21, 1547. Leo Strozzi, Prior of Capua, had been sent by Henry II. of France to the assistance of Arran, and after a month's assault from the French ordnance, the defenders yielded, receiving pledges which were broken on their arrival in France.

² This proved a tedious effort, for the English occupation of Haddington did not end till September 1549.

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against the cruelty and arrogance of England. He offered further aid in troops, money, and arms. He also undertook to superintend the education of the young Queen with care and affection. The Estates accepted Henry's proposals, laying down as their one condition that the laws and liberties of the realm of Scotland should be preserved inviolate. Preparations were immediately adopted for the removal of the Queen to France.

The natural sorrow which the tender-hearted Mary of Lorraine must have felt in the prospect of losing her child was greatly softened, we cannot doubt, by the knowledge that the heads of the house of Guise would watch with jealous care over the young Queen's welfare. She herself, though absent in Scotland, had in spirit remained a child at the household hearth. The letters of her mother, the Duchess Antoinette, preserved among the Balcarres Papers, are sufficient proof that the wife of James v. had never been allowed to feel herself an exile in a strange land. If carelessness and infidelity could be charged at any time against her husband, there was a constant interchange of letters with France which must have strengthened her courage and set her steps more resolutely in the path of duty. She was reminded continually of her position as a descendant of the sovereign house of Lorraine, as a princess chosen to accomplish international services, as a woman with strong protectors and devoted friends. The mere rumour of her unhappiness in the months following her marriage had disturbed the family peace at Joinville, and the Duke of Guise had talked of taking a journey to Scotland.¹ Even the words at the

¹ Balcarres Papers, vol. ii. No. 7.

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beginning of letters, "Ce porteur s'en va vers vous," were a reminder of unaltered affection. Every incident in the comings and goings of the soldiers and Churchmen of her house, every journey of "our scholars" from Joinville to Paris, every little illness of brothers and sisters, was duly described by Antoinette to her eldest daughter. She watched with anxiety for each report of the health of James's bride, and later for the details of nursery life. "I greatly wish," wrote Antoinette (in a long letter of "August 18th," which we may safely assign to 1538) "to know how you have been in health since your arrival. I have already sent off two or three packets to remind you to let us have news from you. I don't know whether you have received them."¹

The Duchess of Guise sent to her daughter a doctor and a chemist, taking care that the latter was supplied with the necessary store of drugs.² The medicines of Paris, we may gather from her letters on this subject, were more esteemed than those of Edinburgh. Mary of Lorraine was also kept well informed by her mother about the gossip of the French Court, and the wise elder princess warned the younger to keep some things private; for, as she writes, "I don't want to be mixed up in their business."³ In the same letter, after references to money matters, Antoinette wrote: "I believe you have such trust in me that you know I will act in all your affairs as if they were my own."⁴

¹ Balcarres Papers, vol. ii. No. 10. The original is as follows: "Je bonne envye savoir comme vous vous seres portee depuis vostre aryvee. Je vous ay deja mys deus ou trois pasques en chemyn affin vous rementevoir nous faire part de vos nouvelles ne ses sy les ares eue."

² *Ibid.* vol. ii. No. 29.

³ *Ibid.* vol. ii. No. 10.

⁴ *Ibid.*

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When Mademoiselle de Curel arrived with good news from Scotland, Antoinette wrote: "I cannot help telling you how glad I was to hear from Mademoiselle de Curel so much news about the King and you. . . . You may believe that she was not left in peace amongst us, and that she was often called upon to talk about you ; I could not grow weary of hearing from her about the kindness which the King always shows you."¹ It was the constant effort of the Duchess of Guise to maintain and confirm good relations between the young couple in Scotland. Some of her letters were obviously meant for James's eyes ; others were addressed to him. She promised in the letter first quoted to send the King a falconer with a present of birds for hawking.

Other relatives who wrote frequently to Mary were her uncles, the Duke Antoine of Lorraine and the Cardinal John.² Though many of their communications are brief and formal, each must have had its value as a proof that she was not forgotten. When the baby princes of Scotland died, letters of the most affectionate condolence were sent from France. Antoinette wrote: "The news was very painful to us, but because it was the will of Him who has power over all to make them very happy by taking them out of this world, we have cause to praise Him. I am very glad that the King has borne the loss so piously and that you on your side have resolved to imitate him. . . . I shall not fail soon to send you someone, that I may learn more surely about the King's health and your own. For this reason I will

¹ Balcarres Papers, vol. ii. No. 7.

² A number of their letters are preserved among the Balcarres Papers.

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not write you at greater length, but will only pray God to give you patience. May you always live so virtuously that He may be glorified, trusting thus to have joy in this world and in the next. The surest way to attain it is that of tribulation and sorrow.”¹ The Cardinal John of Lorraine assured his niece of the sympathy of Francis I.,² and begged the bereaved mother to mention any way in which her relatives could help her, for, he added, “you are as much loved and honoured as any princess I have ever seen.” At the birth of the eldest son of James V. and Mary the Cardinal John wrote that the King of France was as much pleased as if the child had been his own.

There was one honoured member of the house of Lorraine who is mentioned in the letters of Antoinette, the “Nun-Queen,” Philippa, mother of Claude, Duke of Guise. Through her devout life, a fragrance as from the legends of old Flemish saints lingered about the family even in the times of Francis I.

Philippa of Gueldres, widow of Duke René II. of Lorraine, took the veil in the Convent of the Clares at Pont-à-Mousson in 1520. Visiting the town ostensibly for change of air, she entreated the nuns to receive her into their holy company. They thanked the Duchess that she had chosen to honour their humble house, but objected that she could not bear the austerities of the rule. Philippa assured them that the Divine grace would be sufficient for her. Returning to Nancy, she set her worldly affairs in order, then assembled all her children round her on a December afternoon of 1519 at the convent, and bade them a tender farewell. For a moment her courage faltered, but strengthened by prayer, she gave her last blessing

¹ Balcarres Papers, vol. ii, No. 3.

² *Ibid.* No. 132.

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to her sons and daughters. "Farewell, farewell!" she cried. "If my poor blessing is of any avail, I give it you with all my heart. I entreat you to live and die in the faith and union of the Holy Catholic, Apostolic and Roman Church, as all your ancestors have lived, and especially the late King René of glorious memory, your good lord and father. . . . You have the honour of yielding precedence to very few families in Europe. Yield nothing of the glory of God."

For twenty-seven years Philippa lingered at Pont-à-Mousson. She signed her letters to her superiors, "Sister Philippa, a humble servant of Jesus," or, "Philippa, a poor worm of the earth." The renown of her holiness spread through Lorraine and France. She performed the humblest duties of the convent, serving as portress, gardener, and cook. "In her cell a little lark . . . well learned in the language of heaven . . . repeated very often this sweet refrain: 'Jesus, Jesus, Jesus.' Other little birds along with the lark, gave from time to time pleasant and melodious concerts. When the Duchess died, these tiny songsters awoke at once and to the admiration of all present began to warble."¹

The nuns who watched her body perceived a great light in the garden, and on going to the window saw the blessed Philippa with stately port and mien, covered with a white robe and rising gently towards heaven. Next morning two monks entered the cell. One was short, thin, and feeble; the other tall and of splendid presence. No one had been seen from the turret and the gates were shut. "It was be-

¹ Père Christophe Mérigot, quoted by the Marquis de Pimodan, *La Mère des Guises*, p. 95.

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lieved," writes Père Mérigot, "that the monks were St. Francis and St. Anthony of Padua."

Mary Stuart was less than five years old at the time of her great-grandmother's death, which occurred in February 1547.

CHAPTER I

MARY'S LANDING AT ROSCOFF AND FIRST YEAR IN FRANCE

Memorials of Mary at Roscoff—Was Roscoff her landing-place?—

The narrative of M. de Brézé—Was Joachim du Bellay with the Queen?—His description of a voyage from Scotland—The journey to Saint-Germain—Preparations for the Queen's coming—Letters of Henry II. and Diane de Poitiers—The King's journey of 1548—The marriage of Jeanne d'Albret—The revolt in Guyenne—Return of the King—His opinion of Mary—Arrival of Anne d'Este and her marriage to Mary's uncle Francis, "Le Grand Guise"—Mary at the wedding—Royal triumphs in Paris—The dark shadow.

THE traveller who approaches Roscoff by train from Morlaix has before his eyes, for most of the journey, that "granite arrow," the Creizker of Saint-Pol-de-Léon. The crew of Villegaignon's galley, which carried Queen Mary to France, must have seen it with thankfulness after their stormy voyage from Dumbarton in August 1548. The spire, with its grey stone lacework, is, as Pierre Loti tells us, a landmark for Breton sailors. "We were pleased," he writes, "to think we had at last succeeded in climbing the Creizker, which had so often looked down on us as we passed by amid the waste of waters. It was always calmly fixed, always there; inaccessible and unchangeable, while we poor sailors were beaten about by all the contrary winds of the open sea."

Mary's Landing at Roscoff

Looking northward from the summit of the spire Yves and his friend saw at the water's edge the little port of Roscoff, with the multitude of small, oddly shaped rocks that crowd its bay. Roscoff was once a nest of pirates and smugglers. To-day it is a popular sea-bathing resort, much frequented by the clergy with several hotels. The climate resembles that of Torquay or Falmouth. The church, finished in 1550, has a terraced tower which appears, when seen from a distance, like an opening flower of stone. Above one portal is a carved stone ship, with the arms of the town, and opposite the main porch are two low stone structures of the Renaissance period, which may once have served as ossuaries. Images of death and sorrow meet us everywhere in the Léon country, and for costume "the black is most in use." Roscoff has no spacious harbour like that of Paimpol, and the ships which are moored alongside its rude, dwarfish pier are more suited for fishing expeditions round the Île de Batz than for ocean voyages. Between the church and the harbour, on the left hand as we descend the main street, is the "Maison de Marie Stuart," an ancient, substantial building, with gargoyles on the chimney-stack. The house is in private ownership, and the guardian leads the way along a passage to a small grey stone cloister. The arches are of graceful design and form two sides of a square. Beyond the cloister is a cellar-storeroom, and out of that a door leads to the small boat-shaped garden which carries on its seaward angle the "Turret of Queen Mary." On the beach at the foot of the rock, which at low tide is uncovered, Mary first touched French soil. Through the openings of the turret we see the wide bay of Roscoff with the low line of the Île de Batz,

Was Roscoff the Port ?

the many sharp-crested islets which break the smooth surface of the sea, the orange-sailed fishing-boats gliding from shore to shore, and on a neighbouring height the white chapel of Sainte-Barbe. The pilot who guided Mary's ship into Roscoff harbour must have been a man of skill and prudence, for this is one of the most perilous coasts in Europe. In the distance, still looking from the turret, we see the foam breaking against half-sunken reefs. Strong currents run between the islands, and French guide-books warn tourists not to embark for the Île de Batz except in the finest weather. The best of living writers on Brittany, Anatole Le Braz, has unveiled the legends of this iron-bound shore. The fisher-folk of Léon are nurtured in superstition. They tell of ghosts returning from the sea, of phantom vessels drifting landwards on winter nights, of long-dead sailors who revisit the Campo Santo of Saint-Pol. We who look to-day through the arches of Queen Mary's turret, and remember the destiny of the child traveller, carry in our thoughts the reflection of a darker tragedy than any which belongs to the death lore of Finistère.

Some historians have named Brest as Mary's first landing-place on the soil of France, but the honour belongs to Roscoff. Two contemporary letters seem to prove the fact beyond dispute. The original of each is in the Paris Bibliothèque. The more important of the two is the letter of M. de Brézé to the Duke of Aumale (Francis of Guise), which was written from Roscoff on August 18. The relevant passage is as follows : " Monseigneur, when the galleys had arrived in this port of Roscoff, I did not fail, three or four days after the landing of the little Queen of Scots, to

Mary's Landing at Roscoff

send them to Rouen, to await the King's instruction as to their further action. This was done by the advice of the Seigneur de Villegaignon, who is going to meet the King, and who has accomplished his duty as well and as wisely as you could have wished. I assure you, Monseigneur, that, as far as I can learn, nothing will be lacking on his part for the fulfilment of the task which the King has laid upon him. I must not forget, Monseigneur, to let you know that if the King would leave some troops in Scotland, this would be very welcome to the Queen [*i.e.*, Mary of Lorraine], who has bidden me tell the King he wishes." ¹

The other letter was addressed from Turin to Henry II., on August 24, to M. d'Humières. The King mentioned that he had received definite news that his daughter, the Queen of Scots, had arrived in good health at the haven of Roscoff, near Lorient in his Duchy of Brittany.²

Little more than a month had passed since the Estates of Scotland, assembled at Haddington Abbey, had agreed to the marriage of Mary and the Dauphin, and had accepted the proposal of Henry II., made through his lieutenant-general, André de Montalembert, Sieur d'Essé, that the Queen should be removed to France without delay. On July 8, 1548, the day

¹ Bibliothèque Nationale. Fonds français, 20457, fol. 121. For the original of this letter see Appendix A.

² Fonds français, No. 3134, fol. 12. There is a copy of this letter in the Egerton MSS of the British Museum, and from this copy the letter was quoted by Father Stevenson. *Mary Stuart*, p. 93 (note).

The chapel of St. Ninian at Roscoff was built, as many antiquaries believe, to commemorate the Queen's landing. Its ruins have been much dishonoured, and the walls were recently covered with advertisements. At the time of writing Lord Guthrie is raising funds for the partial restoration of this venerable structure.

Preparing for the Voyage

after the Parliament, Mary of Lorraine, the Queen Dowager, wrote to her brothers, Francis and Charles : "Yesterday there was held here a Parliament of all the Estates, in which each consented to be subject to the said Lord [Henry II.], because of the honour he is doing the Queen my daughter in wishing to marry her to his son. I start to-morrow to send her to him, as soon as the galleys shall have returned, as his Ambassador is writing to him."¹ The Parliament had exacted from the French King, through his representative, a solemn assurance that he would preserve the laws and liberties of the realm.

The adventurous voyage of the French galleys, from the port of Leith round the north coast of Scotland to Dumbarton on the Clyde, has been often described. The scheme by which the watchful English fleet was evaded had its origin, no doubt, in the brain of that bold seaman, Villegaignon, who was afterwards so unfortunately associated with Coligny's colonial enterprise. Jean de Beaugué describes Villegaignon as "a very worthy personage, one of those to whom important charges are committed." No galleys, according to this writer, had ever made the same voyage. "They are not suitably built for resisting the violent onsets of that sea, caused by the tides, which are there wonderfully strong, and by the perpetual storms."

At Dumbarton the royal child was taken on board. The names of some of her companions are well known to history. With her sailed the Lords Erskine and Livingston, the Lady Fleming (a natural daughter of James IV.), and the four Maries, daughters

¹ *Mémoires-Journaux du Duc de Guise*, p. 3.

Mary's Landing at Roscoff

of the houses of Fleming, Beaton, Seton, and Livingston.¹

The details of the voyage are supplied to us in the series of letters which the Sieur de Brézé addressed to Mary of Lorraine between July 31 and August 18.² The first was written on shipboard while the royal

¹ Did Joachim du Bellay accompany the Queen from Scotland?—A recent writer on the Queen's girlhood, Baron de Ruble, says that the poet Joachim du Bellay accompanied the Queen from Scotland (*La Première Jeunesse de Marie Stuart*, p. 15). His authority for this statement is the passage in which the poet describes an imaginary voyage from the far northern seas to the coast of Brittany. The lines will be found in a poem of 1559 entitled "Entreprise du Roy Daulphin pour le Tournoy soubz le nom des chevaliers advantereux." The piece was originally published in the small volume of 1561, which was named from its chief subject, "The Marriage Ode on the Wedding of the Duke of Savoy with Margaret of France." Joachim du Bellay speaks as the mouthpiece of the "Adventurous Lovers," who sailed from the remote island and passed Orkney, Shetland, and the coast of Ireland on their journey to France. Not one of his biographers makes any allusion to such a voyage. The most recent French writers on Joachim du Bellay are M. Léon Séché and M. Henri Chamard. They have examined all available sources of information, and they inform us that at the end of 1547 or the beginning of 1548 he entered the Collège Coqueret in Paris, after completing his legal studies at Poitiers. M. Séché dates Joachim du Bellay's first relations with the Court from the time of the publication of *L'Olive* (1549-50). "*L'Olive*," he says, "had scarcely appeared when Joachim, who had nothing further to do at the Collège Coqueret, felt the need of pushing his fortunes at the Court" (*Revue de la Renaissance*, vol. i. p. 142). His earliest patroness was Margaret, sister of Henry II., afterwards Duchess of Savoy. The story of Queen Mary's voyage must have been familiar to every one at Court, and nothing was more natural than that the poet should have woven its main incidents into his fanciful narrative. M. de Ruble, it may be noted, misled many readers by inserting the words "à Roscof" into the lines he quotes from Joachim du Bellay which describe the landing in Brittany. The words "à Roscof" do not occur in the text. M. de Ruble did not of course mean to interpolate them, but a reader unacquainted with the poem would naturally suppose that they were the poet's and not his own.

² Attention was called to this group of letters (contained in vol. iii. of the Balcarres Papers in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh) by Mr. Moir Bryce in an article which appeared in *The English Historical Review* for January 1907. Translations of the most important passages are there given. For the originals, see Appendix A.

Letters of M. de Brézé

galley was still in the Clyde. "Madame," said the young Queen's Governor, "I have just received the letter you have been pleased to write me, along with the packet of M. Berthier, the Ambassador, the reading of which will serve to relieve the tedium of our voyage, and afterwards I shall be able to report accurately on the ability of the personage, as I shall not fail to do. I assure you, Madame, that the Queen your daughter fares as well and is as cheerful as you have seen her for a long time. I pray our Lord to preserve her in this state."

The next letter, which is undated, was written near the house of M. de Corsefot, probably a day after the first, since the writer speaks of the continuance of fairly good weather :—

"Madame, I am unwilling to lose this opportunity of writing you this short letter by M. de Corsefot, who visited the Queen in this place near his house, where we anchored this evening, and to inform you that the Queen, thank God, fares exceedingly well, and has not yet been ill on the sea. The weather is fairly good, and I hope it will go on improving. I shall not fail to let you know when, by God's blessing, we land in France."

On Friday, August 3, the reports continued satisfactory, though the wind was rising and the sea becoming rougher as the estuary widened.

"Madame, I received this morning the letter you have been pleased to write me, and as for the news of the Queen your daughter, I can assure you that she fares as well and is as healthy as you ever saw her. For this I praise our Lord, and only regret that I am unable to give her greater comfort. But I assure you, Madame, that nothing will be lacking on my part

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to serve her to the utmost of my power. Were it only because this was the King's command to me, I should not fail in my duty. I am very sorry that the weather has been such that this bearer should have found us here, but every seafaring man must have patience. To-day the weather has set fair, and should it continue, I hope soon to send you news which will be extremely welcome to you. I desire to assure you, Madame, that in spite of the very high winds during the last few days, which tossed the galley most severely, the Queen has never been sick. This makes me think she will suffer but little on the open sea."

M. de Brézé repeated in this letter his promises of faithful service to the Queen Mother: "If even a dog came to the place where I was, and I were told it was from you, I would show it all the attention that was possible."

The fourth letter was written on August 6, "from the roadstead of the island of Lamlash."

"The weather, which up to the present has been unfavourable, showed signs of moderating, with a slightly favouring wind. For this reason we at once set sail for the open, and that is why I have not had time to write you. But just as we reached the open the wind veered round against us, and we were compelled to return to port and our former shelter. While we were there, five or six other ships, laden with provisions, arrived, and I was unwilling to let them pass without a greeting and also without informing you that the Queen, your daughter, is well and as little wearied as possible, as are also the rest of the company. I hope that as soon as the fine weather returns, we shall make such good use of it that we shall soon be in France."

Letters of M. de Brézé

The last and most interesting of the sea-letters was written from Saint-Pol-de-Léon on August 18. The Sieur de Brézé enlarged on past perils :—

“ We were almost compelled on two or three occasions to return to port at Dumbarton ; and one night about ten leagues from the Cape of Cornwall, when the sea was wondrously wild, with the biggest waves I ever saw, to our great consternation the rudder of our galley was broken. Nevertheless our Lord was pleased to intervene, so that we replaced the rudder almost at once, in spite of the heavy sea that was running.”

In the same letter M. de Brézé wrote :—

“ Madame, as I believe you will be very glad to have news of the Queen your daughter and her company, I am unwilling to fail in my obedience to the orders which you were pleased to give me at my departure, and I inform you that she prospers and is as well as ever you saw her. She has been less ill on the sea than any one of her company, so that she made fun of those that were. I think this was as great a piece of good luck as could happen to me in my life. We landed in this place, Saint-Pol-de-Léon, on the 15th of this month of August, having been eighteen days on board ship, amidst heavy storms.”

On the same day, as we have seen, M. de Brézé had written to the Duke of Aumale, informing him that the Queen had landed at Roscoff. This letter was written at Roscoff, probably on the morning of August 18, that to Mary of Lorraine from Saint-Pol-de-Léon, in the afternoon or evening. M. de Brézé could not have expected that any misapprehension would arise, as the ancient cathedral city is half a mile inland. Possibly he mentioned Saint-Pol to Mary of

Mary's Landing at Roscoff

instructions of Henry II. He added that the Duke and Duchess of Guise, M. d'Étampes, and M. de Rohan were coming to meet her. The next letter in M. de Brézé's series is dated "All Saints' Day, 1548," so that an interval of more than two months separated it from the hurriedly written communication from Saint-Pol-de-Léon.

M. de Brézé had received instructions from the King that he should join the Duke of Aumale and afterwards meet the Constable Montmorency in the South. He left Mary with her grandmother in a house belonging to his own family, the Queen's health continuing excellent. In this letter M. de Brézé mentioned the illness of the Lords Erskine and Livingston, and the death of one of the Queen's train, "le petit Ceton," who had passed away at Ancenis, twenty miles above Nantes. We thus learn incidentally that the Queen's train proceeded overland to the Loire from Morlaix.

Some travellers in that century went towards Paris from Breton ports by land, others by water. A year after Mary's coming, James Melville, then a boy of fourteen, was sent to France in the train of Jean de Montluc, Bishop of Valence. They landed near Brest, the Bishop "tok post" for Paris, but thinking that the boy would not endure the post, the good-natured prelate provided him with money and left him to come on slowly in the charge of two Scottish gentlemen with whose father he was acquainted. Three "little naigis" were purchased, and Melville informs us that the time spent in riding from Brest to Paris was thirteen days.

De Thou says that the fleet arrived off the coast of Brittany, "whence the Queen was conducted by

The Journey to Saint-Germain

short stages to the Court." The Duchess of Guise, Mary's grandmother (Antoinette de Bourbon) wrote to the Queen Dowager of Scotland: "Madame, I felt happier than I can say when I heard that our little Queen had arrived in as good health as we could wish for her. I grieve for the anxiety which I think you must have felt during her voyage, and before you had learned of her arrival here, and also for the sorrow you must have had when she set out. You have had so little happiness in this world, and are so much accustomed to have trouble and care, that I think you can hardly know what pleasure means, except that through her absence and loss you hope for some rest for this little creature, with honour and more good fortune than ever, if God will. I hope to see you sometimes again before I die."

The writer of these lines survived her daughter by more than twenty years.

In the same letter, the Duchess said: "I will start this week, God willing, to meet her as quickly as I can, and to bring her to Saint-Germain, according to the King's instructions."

The Queen probably went by river-barge from Nantes to Orleans, where the land journey was resumed. The later incidents of the progress are described by the Duchess of Guise in three letters addressed to her eldest son. The first was written on October 1 from Tours, the second on October 9 from Illiers, the third on October 10 from Chartres.¹

Antoinette wrote from Tours on October 1 to her son on two other matters before she referred to the presence of the Scottish Queen. The first was con-

¹ "Le Marquis de Pimodan," *La Mère des Guises*, pp. 294-97.

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cerned with the welfare of the poor people of Southern France, who had rebelled against their King.

"My son," she said, "I was glad to have news of you by Hanget, but I should have liked better to see you. I know well that this is an unreasonable wish, remembering the business in which you are engaged. God grant that you may carry it through so well that all shall redound to His glory, to the good of the realm, and the comfort of these poor people. They have done wrong, but they have been so tortured—as I learn from every one—that there is some little excuse for them. I entreat you to get to know the faults and robberies that have been committed, as they say, so that you may tell the King on your return and have them remedied. . . . Have pity on these poor people, for they trust you."

The generous heart of Francis did not need this admonition.

The second subject touched on by the Duchess was that of her son's marriage to Anne d'Este. "Think, my dear, what pleasure I feel in hearing them talk of that noble princess who, I hope, will be yours. I shall find the time go slowly while I wait to see her. If she is such as Hanget describes, you will be very happy, and so shall I."

Having mentioned this great family event, Antoinette proceeded to describe "*Sete petite dame*" —Mary Stuart. "She is very pretty indeed, and as intelligent a child as you could see. She is brune, with a clear complexion, and I think that when she develops she will be a beautiful girl, for her complexion is fine and clear, and her skin white. The lower part of the face is very well formed, the eyes are small and rather deep set, the face is rather long.

Arrival at Court

She is graceful and self-assured. To sum up, we may well be pleased with her.”¹

The Duchess added that the rest of the Queen’s train, with the exception of Lady Fleming, were not handsome, “*et sy pey propre quy lest possible.*”

The 16th of October is given in this letter as the probable date of arrival at Saint-Germain.

On October 9, Antoinette wrote to her son that “our little Queen and all her train are as well as possible.” “I am bringing her by slow journeys straight to Saint-Germain, where I hope to arrive with her on Saturday next.”

Henry II. was not at Saint-Germain to welcome his “little daughter.” He had succeeded his father, Francis I., on March 31, 1547, and when urgent home business left him free to travel, he set out for a tour in the Eastern provinces. In May 1548 he arrived at Troyes, accompanied by his wife, Catherine de’ Medici, and the chief personages of the Court. Leaving the ladies in France, he pushed on during the summer to Turin, for the armed and watchful peace with the Emperor Charles v. might be broken at any moment, and it was important that the new sovereign should see the fortresses of Piedmont. At Turin the King heard of the rebellion that had broken out in Guyenne. The tortured people of the South had risen in mutiny against the collectors of the salt tax, and Bordeaux was the headquarters of the insurrection. The alarming news defeated the King’s plans for a double wedding—that of Antoine de Bourbon, Duke of Vendôme, first Prince of the blood royal, with Jeanne d’Albret, the heiress of Navarre; and of Francis, Duke of Aumale, heir of Duke Claude of Guise, with

¹ *La Mère des Guises*, p. 295.

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Anne d'Este, daughter of the Duke of Ferrara and Renée of France, whose father was Louis XII. The King dispatched his trustiest general, the Constable Montmorency, to quell the insurrection, and with him was sent the rising hope of the French army, the young and already laurel-crowned Francis of Lorraine. The Constable suppressed the rebellion with terrible cruelty, for to his narrow intellect any rising against the King was a crime which deserved the most merciless chastisement. The young heir of Guise won in this painful task a well-deserved reputation for clemency.¹ It was Montmorency, not Guise, who ordered men to be broken on the wheel, and burned alive. In that age of autocratic personal monarchy the hand that was lifted against the King must be forthwith struck from the body. The horrors of Bordeaux in 1548 help us to understand the severities of Amboise in 1560.

In the last week of September, Henry II. entered Lyon, and was entertained for several days with costly magnificence. One of the most interesting publications of the time is the illustrated booklet printed in 1549, which describes the pageants on land and water.² Perhaps the most curious of the woodcuts is the obelisk crowned with a crescent, the emblem of Diane de Poitiers, the King's famous mistress. The city of Lyon had accepted the motto of the reign, which we see inscribed to-day on the roof of the gallery of Henry II. at the Louvre, *Donc totum implicat orbem*.

¹ M. Decrue, in his learned monograph on Anne de Montmorency, has attempted to palliate the conduct of his hero and to minimise the honour won by the Duke of Aumale.

² *La magnificence de la superbe et triumpante entrée de la noble et antique Cité de Lyon faicte au treschrestien Roy de France, Henry, deuxiesme de ce nom* (published at Lyon, 1549).

The Absence of Henry II

In the royal procession through the narrow streets of the Southern mercantile capital there were borne in an open litter draped with black velvet the King's aunt, Margaret, Queen of Navarre, and her daughter, Jeanne d'Albret. By the side of the litter rode that courtly cavalier, Antoine, Duke of Vendôme. Jeanne, we may believe, viewed him with no disfavour. His correspondence with her in their early married life includes several of the most charming love-letters of the century. Henri d'Albret and his wife Margaret, on the other hand, were dissatisfied with the match, and wished to gain time. Henry II. wrote to the Constable, the partaker of all his secrets, that his aunt did not favour the marriage, and he added: "I shall do all I can to carry through the wedding, or at least the betrothal, at Moulins. I can assure you that the thing shall be done, either willingly or by constraint." ¹

On October 8 the Court arrived at Moulins, a feudal castle built in the fifteenth century by the Dukes of Bourbon. After the condemnation of the Constable de Bourbon it had passed to the Crown. Henri d'Albret arrived, sullen and menacing, but the King succeeded in pacifying him. The wedding of his only child to the Duke of Vendôme was celebrated on October 20. The happiness of the bride is mentioned in one of the King's letters. To Francis of Guise, in announcing his early return to Saint-Germain, Henry wrote: "There it will be your turn to run, and we shall see if you will prove as nice a companion as my cousin the Duke of Vendôme." ²

While absent on this progress, Henry II. had not

¹ A. de Ruble, *Le Mariage de Jeanne d'Albret*, pp. 257-58.

² *Ibid.* p. 265.

First Year in France

forgotten the royal child who was to become an inmate of his nursery. The most careful preparations were made for Mary's reception. Many letters testified to the King's anxiety for her personal comfort,¹ and to his consciousness of the advantage brought him by the Scottish alliance. He ordered his Ambassador M. de Selve, to inform the Protector Somerset that as the father of the Dauphin, who was to marry the Scottish Queen, he had taken the realm of Scotland under his charge. He even used the expression, "who hold at present the place of King of Scotland with the obedience of its vassals and subjects who cannot henceforth have any other will than mine."² To the Estates of Scotland Henry announced the safe arrival of his dear and much-loved daughter in a port of Brittany.³ "We are now causing her to be transported in good and honourable company to the place where our dearly loved son the Dauphin, her husband, is staying, that she may be brought up with him and our dearly loved daughters, his sisters. We have provided and given orders that she shall be received, treated, and honoured in all our towns and other places through which she may pass as if she were our dearly loved consort the Queen in person, having power and right to grant pardons and to set prisoners free. We have omitted nothing, we believe, of all the honour that should be paid to her, for we hold and esteem her for what she is, our daughter."

To his Ambassador at Constantinople, M. d'Aramon, Henry sent an account of the French successes

¹ See letters printed in Appendix A.

² G. Ribier, *Lettres et Mémoires d'Etat*, vol. ii. p. 152.

³ *Ibid.* p. 150.

Instructions to M. d'Humières

in Scotland. They would prove to the Sultan, he suggested, "that I am not a useless friend, for without my aid and succour this poor kingdom of Scotland would be still a prey to these English, given up to their will. They wanted to usurp it, under pretext of a marriage they wished to conclude between the little Queen, who is a minor, and their King. But I have provided against this, for I have had the Queen taken away and brought hither, that she may be educated along with my children."¹ The expression, "that I am not a useless friend," shows that Henry felt his consequence in the world much increased by the Scottish negotiations.

The Governor of the royal children at this time was the Sieur Jean d'Humières, and he received letters about Mary from his master and from Diane de Poitiers. Henry desired him to have the house of Carrières at Saint-Germain prepared for her reception, and to see to the cleansing of the château of Saint-Germain, with the base-court and the village. This could be done most conveniently, he thought, while the royal children were at Carrières, and the little ones "can gain nothing but benefit by a change of air." Instructions were also given that no workman or other stranger must be allowed to enter Saint-Germain, and especially the palace, who came from any place where infectious disease had broken out, and the same rule was to apply to Poissy and the villages in the neighbourhood.

Writing to M. d'Humières on October 15, Diane de Poitiers begged him to see that the women kept on good terms with each other, "for if the

¹ *Négociations de la France dans le Levant*, vol. ii. p. 71 (Collection de Documents inédits).

First Year in France

King hears there is any partiality, he will not be pleased.”¹

On October 17, Henry ordered that as soon as Mary was at Carrières, all the foreigners with her should be sent home, for he wished that she should be served by the officials who waited on his own children.²

From Moulins, on October 18, Henry wrote to the Duke of Aumale that he was eager to judge for himself about the Queen of Scotland, “since all who have come here after seeing her praise her as a wonder. This doubles the desire I have to see her, as I hope to do ere long.”

The King remarked in this letter that he had heard from the Duchess of Guise and the Sieur d’Humières that the child Queen and the Dauphin got on as well together from the first day of their meeting as if they had known each other a long time. In August he had instructed d’Humières that the little guest must receive the full honours due to her rank. “In answer to your question as to the rank which I wish my daughter the Queen of Scotland to occupy, I have to inform you that it is my desire that she should take precedence of my daughters. For not only is the marriage between my son and her fixed and settled, but she is a crowned Queen, and as such it is my wish that she should be honoured and served.”

Diane de Poitiers was a second mother to the children of France. Several times during the autumn she conveyed the King’s instructions by letter to M. d’Humières. On October 3, she informed him that

¹ G. Guiffrey, *Lettres de Dianne de Poitiers*, p. 42. ² *Ibid.* (note).

³ *Mémoires-Journaux du Duc de Guise*, p. 2.

Diane de Poitiers and Mary

the King wished "Madame Ysabel" (his eldest daughter, better known to history as Elizabeth of Valois) to be lodged with the Queen of Scotland: "You will choose the best apartments for them and for their suite, for the King desires that from the beginning these two should become friends, so you will see that this is done."¹ "Madame Ysabel" was only three and a half at this time. Mary reached her sixth birthday on December 8, 1548. On October 20, writing from Moulins to M. d'Humières, Diane said that the King had been delighted to hear of the friendliness with which the Dauphin had welcomed the Queen of Scotland, "and I know well that that was through your teaching. If you want to please the King, go on teaching him these pretty little ways."²

Catherine de' Medici also had been solicitous for the health and comfort of the child Queen. On September 3, writing to M. d'Humières, she mentioned that there was sickness in Paris, and asked that those who came from Paris should not be permitted to enter the house where her children were staying. "I hope that the number of my children may soon increase, and that they may have with them the little Queen of Scotland, and this gives me much pleasure."³

At the earliest possible moment after the marriage of Jeanne d'Albret, the King set off in haste from Moulins, and travelling rapidly, accompanied by a handful of followers, he reached Saint-Germain in the second week of November. He wished, as Diane

¹ Guiffrey, *Lettres de Dianne de Poytiers*, p. 35.

² *Ibid.* pp. 45-46.

³ *Lettres de Catherine de Médicis*, edited by Count H. de la Ferrière, vol. i. p. 26.

First Year in France

says, to enjoy his children's company alone. He again wrote to M. d'Humières, expressing his happiness at the good news which had reached him of their health. "I gather from the portraits you have sent me that they are all very well." After his first meeting with the Queen of Scotland, he described her as "the most perfect child I have ever seen."

M. de Brézé wrote to Mary of Lorraine from Saint-Germain on December 11 that the King had given her daughter the kindest possible reception, and continued to show her the same kindness from day to day, thinking himself very fortunate that she had arrived at his Court without accident or sickness. "He holds her to-day for no less than his own daughter, and I do not doubt that if she and the Dauphin were of marriageable age or approaching it, the King would soon put the business in hand. Meanwhile the King wishes them to be brought up together and that their people should make one household. The reason of this is that they may early grow accustomed to each other's society. I assure you, Madame, that the King thinks her the prettiest and most graceful little princess he has ever seen. The same opinion is held by the Queen and all the Court."

This letter of M. de Brézé contains a remarkable allusion to a lady in the Queen's train. The beauty of the Lady Fleming, it is evident, had caught the fancy of Henry II. at this early date. He had seen Mary's "governess" for the first time in the middle of November, and on December 11, M. de Brézé used these significant words: "I assure you, Madame, that you have sent a lady hither with the Queen your daughter who has pleased all this company as much

Mary's First Court Festivity

as the six most virtuous women of this kingdom could have done. For my part, I would not for the world have had her absent, having regard not only to the service of the Queen, but to the reputation of the Kingdom of Scotland,—I mean Lady Fleming.”

The infatuation of Henry II. for Lady Fleming became an open scandal during the visit of the Scottish Queen Mother to France (1550–51).

The first Court festivity with which Mary was associated was the wedding of her uncle Francis with Anne d'Este. The alliance had been proposed by the Cardinal Charles of Guise during his visit to Italy in the autumn of 1547. While Francis was engaged in establishing order under Montmorency in Guyenne, the Cardinal was with the Court, and in one of his long gossiping letters he announced that their father, Duke Claude of Guise, had started for Grenoble to meet the bride, who was expected on October 25. “You will have news of her by this packet, which Muret will bring you. God knows how he sings the praises of those in the place from which he comes, but I won't tell you more, lest it should make your mouth water. Madame de Valentinois [Diane de Poitiers] is keeping the ring, and I can assure you that no one in the world is more at your command, or more entirely ours than she is.”¹

The bridegroom-elect wrote in November to his sister, the Queen Dowager of Scotland, that the wedding would take place as soon as he and the Constable returned to Saint-Germain. “I shall wish that you were there, so that you might form some idea what kind of a sister-in-law this is, who is not yet eighteen years old, and is as tall as you. Our

¹ *Mémoires-Journaux du Duc de Guise*, p. 3.

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royal letter than that which he wrote on December 21, 1546, three months before the death of his father called him to the throne? His son Francis had been appointed by his royal grandfather nominal Governor of Languedoc. The baby refused to wear girl's clothes any longer. "He does not want to be dressed as a girl," wrote the Dauphin, "and I like him the better for it. It is quite reasonable that he should have breeches since he asks for them, for I am sure he knows very well what kind of dress he ought to wear."¹

The Constable Montmorency, in a letter to Mary of Lorraine, written from Chantilly on March 30, 1548-49,² said: "I may tell you, Madame, that the Queen your daughter is going on so well in every way that the King finds the fullest possible pleasure and satisfaction in her. I can also assure you that Monseigneur the Dauphin cares for her and loves her like his sweetheart and his wife; and that it is easy to see that God caused them to be born for each other. I often wish you were here to see them together."

M. de Brézé continued to keep the Queen Dowager of Scotland informed as to her daughter's welfare. Writing from Maignelay on August 10, 1549, he said: "I must not omit to assure you of the health of the Queen your daughter, which, thanks to our Lord, is as good as you could wish it to be. We see her increasing every day in stature and intelligence. The King treats her with as much honour as if she were his own daughter, as I hope some day to see her. Meanwhile, until she is old enough, everything possible is being done to make her and the Dauphin get on

¹ Letter quoted by A. de Ruble, *La Première Jeunesse*, p. 26.

² Balcarres Papers, vol. iii. No. 10.

Paris in 1549

well together. They are already as fond of each other as if they were married.”¹

The chief public event of 1549 was the coronation of Catherine de' Medici at Saint-Denis, and the state entry of the King and Queen into Paris. The Court had become, under Francis I., the intellectual centre of the country, and the population of the capital was increasing so rapidly that in November 1548 the King issued an order forbidding houses to be erected outside the faubourgs. The reason, as De Thou remarks, was to prevent the city, which was already oppressed by its own size, from becoming any larger. It was complained that as the population of the outlying quarters increased, apprentices left their masters before their time was finished, and opened shops for themselves where the crowd of newcomers was thickest. The taverns in these districts were always full, crimes of violence were common, and gangs of ruffians terrorised not only the immediate neighbourhood but the central parts of the town. Luxury was growing so fast among all classes that another regulation was published, forbidding field labourers and artisans to hunt or shoot, “in order,” as De Thou says, “to reform by this means excessive expenditure on the table, and to prevent luxury from making further progress.”

The royal pageants occupied the greater part of June. On the 10th Catherine was crowned, and on the 18th she made her entry. The King's state entry was on June 16. Claude Guyot again officiated as chief of the merchants, riding on a mule caparisoned with black velvet bordered with fringes of gold. The records of that brilliant month, during which the

¹ Balcarres Papers, vol. iii. No. 123.

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King and Queen lived at the Palace of the Tournelles, show us Catherine borne through the streets in her open litter, with its covering of silver cloth which swept the ground. Her brow was encircled by a crown, and jewels glistened on her ermine mantle. Every honour was paid by Henry II. in public to the mother of his children.

Paris welcomed the King none the less warmly because of the cruel deeds that were committed under royal warrant. De Thou tells us that after Mass the King dined in public at the house of the Bishop of Paris, "and after he had dined he witnessed on his way back to the Tournelles the execution of several persons who were being burned because they had been convicted of holding the doctrines of Luther. He did not do this of his own inclination (for he was gentle, humane, and a hater of cruelty), but at the instigation of some of those who were with him."

Tournaments, naval battles on the Seine, processions, banquets, martyrdoms—such was the order of these summer days. The reign of Henry II. began and ended with cruel persecutions.

CHAPTER II

MARY IN THE ROYAL NURSERY

Chief personages of the reign (Henry II., Diane de Poitiers, Catherine de' Medici, Anne de Montmorency)—The royal children—The Dauphin as a child—Two of his letters—The Dauphin at Anet—Madame d'Humières and her charges—Tradesmen of the Queen of Scotland—Her dress and jewels—Bills of the children's kitchen—Some pet animals—Catherine de' Medici on the Queen—Death of Duke Claude of Guise—Was Mary at her grandfather's funeral?—Death of Mary's great-uncle, the Cardinal John of Lorraine—His character.

THE four chief personages in the kingdom watched with solicitude over the children of France. The Constable Montmorency and Diane de Poitiers had almost as large a share in ruling the nursery as the King and Queen. The best characteristics of each were revealed in these homely cares.

Mary of Scotland, we may be sure, felt no dread of the monarch who calls her so affectionately in his letters "my little daughter." Henry II. was physically one of the stateliest princes of the age, tall, well-made, with a vigorous frame which he strengthened by continual exercise. He was the swiftest runner and the most graceful horseman in France. Though he had never taken part in a battle, his courage was unquestioned, for he was ready for the most dangerous games. He loved the excitement of the lists and of the hunting-field, and often challenged his courtiers

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to jumping matches over ditches filled with water and swollen brooks.

Jean de Saint-Mauris, Ambassador of Charles v., describes him in 1548 as an early riser, who spent most of his time at tennis and in exercising his great horses. He was disposed to fulness of body, and it was to check this tendency, according to Saint-Mauris, that he occupied himself continually with active sports.

“His dark, Spanish complexion reminded men of his captivity,” writes Michelet, “recalling the shadow of the dungeon in Madrid. His heavy shoulders seemed pressed down under the weight of the low vaults. It was a prisoner’s face.” In the regular and majestic features of Henry II. there is a coldness and a lack of intelligence which contrast significantly with the brilliant vivacity of his father’s earlier portraits.

Intellectually, indeed, he was not altogether feeble. Some of the verses he addressed to Diane de Poitiers have a tender grace. He is said to have devoted some time each day to literature, and like many princes of that century, he played skilfully on the lute. As we see from his treatment of Montmorency, he was capable of unswerving devotion in friendship. His moral character compares, on the whole, very favourably with that of his father. One friend and one woman possessed his heart, and the affection which they did not absorb was lavished on his children. Scarcely was his father cold in death when he hurried from Rambouillet to Saint-Germain, where the Constable was living in seclusion and disgrace, and, after a two hours’ conference, restored him to all his honours, and made him the chief Minister of State. Incapable

Character of Henry II

of thinking clearly on politics, without initiative or force of will, Henry II. was the slave of contending factions. The chief personages round the throne "devoured him as a lion does its prey." Insatiable rapacity characterised them all. With a dull indifference, Henry permitted his people to be spoiled. "He was born under Saturn," said the Spanish diplomatist, Simon Renard. His slow, leaden nature was driven on by more eager minds. Though we have the testimony of a Secretary of State, Claude de l'Aubespine, that his gentle and kindly manners won the hearts of all who approached him, he was capable of remorseless cruelty. When a poor Huguenot tailor ventured to reprove Diane de Poitiers, Henry swore that with his own eyes he would see him burned. From a window in the Rue Saint-Antoine he watched the ghastly spectacle. The martyr directed his dying gaze so fixedly on the King's face that Henry shrank back pale and trembling. Never again, he declared, would he witness so horrible a scene. Yet the ashes of persecution were never long cold during his reign.

In considering Henry's relations to Diane de Poitiers, we must remember, first, that he was brought up in the Court of Francis I., and had seen his own mother pushed aside to make room for the King's mistress; next, that his sullen, taciturn nature owed such finer qualities as it possessed to the influence, training, and counsel of Diane, who was his senior by nearly twenty years. During the later years of Francis I., while the King was sinking into premature old age, the Dauphin had formed his own Court, in which his wife, Catherine, was a pale shadow, eclipsed before the rising orb of Diane. The King's mistress,

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the Duchess d'Étampes, put herself at the head of the party which mocked at Diane as "the old woman," sending her a present of false hair on one day, on another a gift of teeth. Diane secured an ample vengeance when her lover ascended the throne. Madame d'Étampes was driven out with ignominy, and "la grande Sénéchale" became Duchess of Valentinois. Her relationship with Henry was accepted and regularised by custom. The most virtuous ladies of the land, such as Antoinette de Bourbon, Duchess of Guise, allowed their young sons to pay court to her. Her daughter was given in marriage to the third son of the Duke of Guise. The manners of the Duchess of Valentinois were as stately and formal as the stiff robes of black and white which she wore as a token of perpetual mourning for her husband, the Sieur de Brézé. It is difficult to imagine her unbending among the young. There is no record of her giving toys or other presents to the royal children, but they were occasionally her guests at Anet, the château planned for Diane by Philibert Delorme, a place full of amusements, with aviaries and fishponds, fountains and running streams. Sir William Pickering, the English representative at the French Court in 1552-53, describes Anet as "a wonderful fair and sumptuous house." After an audience with the King, "Madame Valentinois commanded that collation (as they term it) should be prepared for me in a gallery, and that afterwards I should see all the commodities of the house, which were so sumptuous and prince-like as ever I saw."¹

Diane was accustomed to nurse Catherine de' Medici during her frequent illnesses, and the two

¹ *Foreign Calendar*, "Edward VI.," p. 258.

Anne de Montmorency

women lived peacefully side by side, dividing the cares of the household. Each was necessary to the other. Notwithstanding the fidelity of the King, Diane must often have realised the insecurity of her position. She had seen women much younger and not less lovely than herself chased ruthlessly out "by the golden door," and if death removed her royal lover, her one hope would lie in the indulgence of Catherine. The Queen, on the other hand, kept some slight hold of her husband's affection through Diane's good offices, and was far too wary to offend either of them. After the birth of her son Francis her position, in the eyes of the nation, was secure, and while her husband lived she did not, except on one or two occasions, aspire to political influence.

Anne de Montmorency, himself the father of eleven children, belonged to the innermost circle of the royal household. Letters exist which he wrote to M. d'Humières and his wife, giving directions and advice on nursery matters. He selected doctors for the delicate infants, and told M. d'Humières to see that the Dauphin used his pocket-handkerchief. "Be sure that you don't let him go out, for this sickness is dangerous in cold weather."¹ He knew how to amuse the babies. Princess Claude asked him to give her some dolls, dressed as little men and women. He invented toys for his "little masters," and sent his wife's dressmaker to cut out bodices for the girls.

It is pleasant to find these paternal qualities in the grim Anne de Montmorency, who was known at Court as "le grand rabroueur" ("the great snubber"), and whose manner to his equals was harsh and overbearing. This soldier of fifty-five, superstitious,

¹ F. Decrue, *Anne de Montmorency*, vol. ii. pp. 30-31.

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ignorant, and sometimes ferociously cruel, was a strange companion for the children, who called him by pet names,—“ my husband ” and “ my wife.”¹

Queen Mary, though she had her share of childish illnesses, must have seemed in these early days like the hardy heath-flower beside the drooping blossoms of the palace. The elder children of Henry II. and Catherine de' Medici were all sickly, and the feeblest was the Dauphin Francis, the Queen's destined husband. His constitution was thoroughly unsound. In the autumn of 1549 he had a serious illness, and we find Francis of Guise writing to express his sympathy with the King, who had all but lost his heir: “ I think, Sir, that your presence must have helped, [to cure him] partly because of the pleasure he had in seeing you, and also because he obeyed you by taking what was necessary for his health.”²

The Dauphin was naturally a bright and gallant child, and he struggled manfully against his weakness. At the age of three he had suffered from smallpox, and the Court letters from that time onwards are full of his childish ailments. In spirit, he inherited something of his father's exuberant vitality. He loved to hear of hunting and shooting, and the game of war. Could there be a sadder contrast than that which the watchful attendants must have noted between the two children, Francis and Mary, each of royal descent, each trained for royal destinies? In natural pride and courage Francis was not inferior to Mary, but he was the victim of maladies which have caused historians to describe him as “ un roi pourri.” Mary, on the other hand, drew from her grandparents and

¹ F. Decruc, *Anne de Montmorency*, vol. ii. p. 31.

² *Mémoires-Journaux du Duc de Guise*, p. 10.

Letters of the Dauphin

great-grandparents that wholesome and vigorous health which had renewed the ancient stock of Lorraine. She was the descendant of fighting captains ; great-granddaughter of René, Duke of Lorraine, who conquered Charles the Bold at Nancy, granddaughter of the first Duke of Guise, who was called the Protector of Paris.

The disposition of the little Dauphin may be gathered from two letters which he wrote at the age of five and six.¹ The first was addressed to the Sieur de Becquincourt,² lieutenant of his company (February 17, 1550) :—

“ I have heard from the King what good work you are doing every day in his service, in the place where you are, against his enemies. I wanted to tell you that I knew of this and to beg you to continue in the same course, and you will find in me a master who will acknowledge your service when I have the power. That time will come soon, for my King has told me that I shall follow him and serve him as soon as I am past seven.”

The second letter was written to the Duke Francis of Guise, under date May 21, 1551. He thanked the Duke for a suit of armour sent as a present, and promised to keep it in his wardrobe. Some one should look after it every day, and if the rust was gathering, he would have it brightened, for he hoped, in the first combat between himself and the giver, to spoil that mail so that the armourers would not be able to

¹ Quoted by A. de Ruble, *La Première Jeunesse*, pp. 33-35.

² M. de Ruble printed the name “Bocquincourt,” but the letter was surely written to Jean de Becquincourt (or Bequencourt, as M. Guiffrey spells the name), son of the Sieur d’Humières.

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mend it. "Till that hour comes, I am practising often as I can in arms, so as to meet you as a gentleman knight face to face, for I hope that with the favour of that lovely and virtuous lady your niece, half the honour of our fight will be mine."

These letters are not in the Dauphin's handwriting but, as M. de Ruble remarks, they were written to the man who knew him intimately, and they represent the little boy as he appeared to the home circle.

After a visit to Anet in 1550, he wrote: "I never slept better than in a big bed, where I lay in the room of my King." He praised the beautiful house of Anet, "the fine gardens, galleries, aviaries, and many other good and pretty things." There is evidence that the children of Henry II. clung to him rather than to their mother, and they suspected no wrong when they were taken to the house of "ma cousine de Valentinois."¹

M. d'Humières, tutor of the royal nurslings, died after a very brief illness, in July 1550. His wife Françoise de Contay, was the mother of seven sons and eleven daughters. Her vigilant care of the children won the confidence of the King and Queen and after the death of her husband she retained her position as directress of the household. "You are one of the people," wrote the King, "whom I most wish to see beside my children." The Governor who succeeded Jean d'Humières was Claude d'Ur

¹ When Mary came to France, there were four infants in the royal nursery: the Dauphin (born 1544); Elizabeth (1545); Claude (1546) and the baby Louis (1548). This youngest child died of measles at Mantes in October 1550. Between 1550 and 1554 other babies were added to the group. The future Charles IX. was born in June 1550, the future Henry III. in 1551, Margaret in 1552, and Francis of Anjou in 1554.

Mary's Wardrobe

formerly Ambassador at Rome. It was his special charge to regulate the expenses of the establishment, while Madame d'Humières superintended the matrons and maids of honour. The ordering of the girls' wardrobes must have been a heavy task for somebody. The treasurers' accounts for 1551¹ prove that Mary Stuart, at the age of eight, was as richly provided with clothes and jewellery as a modern royal bride. René Tardif, silversmith to the King, supplied lengths of violet, crimson and yellow velvet, fine Holland linen, white satin from Venice, and pieces of violet, black, red and white taffeta, which were to be made up into garments for the Queen of Scots. The catalogue includes frocks of golden damask and cloth of silver, linings of white silk and satin, and muffs of velvet trimmed with sables. Sixteen dresses were made for her in 1551. Mathurin Lussault, a goldsmith, furnished gloves, pins, combs and brushes. Another goldsmith provided twelve dozen crescent-shaped buttons, enamelled in black and white, which were to trim a pair of sleeves and a coif of violet velvet. Mary possessed a golden girdle, enamelled in white and red. Her jewels were so numerous that three brass chests could scarcely hold them.²

Extravagance in dress was carried to the extremest limit in the reign of Henry II. Our hearts ache as we think of the weary, sickly children's bodies encased in the costliest fabrics wrought by the master craftsmen of Europe. The wrappings of gold and silver tissue could not conceal the tired expression of pale faces and heavy eyes. How seldom, in the portrait-

¹ Published by A. de Ruble, *La Première Jeunesse*, Appendix vi.

² *Ibid.* pp. 37-40.

Mary in the Royal Nursery

ure of the Valois Court, do we encounter a brilliant careless child's glance. Silks and satins and velvet could not hide the ravages of disease.

The bills of Queen Mary's furnishers should be supplemented by the details of masculine costume which are contained in one of the King's account books, preserved in the British Museum. Henry's children were, perhaps, rather more simply clad than the "crowned Queen" their companion, but the upkeep of the royal nursery, with its many highly paid servants, must have been a considerable tax on the revenue. In 1551 the expenditure under this head amounted to 81,321 "livres tournois," or from £60,000 to £65,000 of our money.¹ This sum appears

¹ Experts differ both as to the actual monetary value of the "livres tournois" and its relative value in our own coinage. Professor Lemonnier, in the Lavissee *History of France*, discusses the question at length (vol. v. part i. p. 267, note), and cites the opinions of M. de Wailly, M. d'Avenel, and M. Levasseur. His own conclusion may be gathered from his estimate of the salaries paid to Duke Claude of Guise and the Constable Montmorency under Francis I. The former received 18,000 "livres tournois" a year; the latter 12,000 (vol. v. part i. p. 268). Professor Lemonnier says in a note to this page that the livre may be calculated as equal to four francs, and the relative value may be multiplied by five. "Guise would thus receive to-day 18,000 $\times 4 \times 5 = 360,000$ [francs; Montmorency 240,000, etc." Bring this to pounds sterling by dividing by 25, we fix the Duke of Guise's income from State funds as roughly £14,400 of our money. "On peut donc aboutir qu'à des approximations," writes M. Lemonnier. His colleague in the new French History, Professor Mariéjol, discusses the subject afresh (vol. vi. part ii. p. 2, note). The livre tournois, he says, was worth, according to Natalis de Wailly, francs 78 centimes in 1561, 3 francs 14 c. in 1580, and 2 francs 92 c. in 1602. According to M. d'Avenel, it was worth 3 francs 11 c. from 1561 to 1572, etc. "Difficult as it is to determine the actual value (of the livre tournois) in silver or gold, it is almost impossible to decide on the difference between its purchasing power then and now, or in other words, its relative value," says M. d'Avenel (vol. i. p. 27, note 1, and p. 32, note 1) thinks that when we have changed the livres and other moneys into francs we must multiply the sums of that age by 3 from 1551 to 1575, by $2\frac{1}{2}$ from

Accounts of the Tradesmen

very moderate when we realise how many persons were entertained at the King's expense. Thirty-seven children, belonging to noble families, were brought up with the Dauphin and his sisters. The number of officials, from the highest to the lowest, was not less than a hundred and fifty. The cooks, with their assistants, numbered fifty-seven, the purveyors of wine from five to twelve, but there was only one water-carrier for the large household. The quantities of food consumed in a single day must have kept the cooks busy. Among the British Museum manuscripts there are some curious food-bills of the Dauphin and the Queen of Scots, belonging to the year 1551. The provisions for one day include two calves, sixteen sheep, five pigs, and seven geese, besides pieces of choice beef, chickens, pigeons, hares, and one pheasant. Thirty-six pounds of cutlets are on the butcher's bill for this day, besides calves' feet, partridges, and larks. Seventy-two dozen loaves were supplied by the baker, and five different merchants provided wine. The fruiterer sold, besides his own special goods, white and yellow wax, for household and church use. The items for firing conclude the list of expenses, which amount in all to 210 livres, 2 sols, 1 denier. This is dated December 1, 1551, when the Queen of Scotland and the Dauphin were at Blois.¹ The next account belongs to Wednesday, December 16, in the same year. The headings under "Cuisine" include a great variety of fish, for the Advent fast was strictly observed at Court. Not

1576 to 1600, in order to obtain their equivalent in money of our own time. But these coefficients are disputable and have been disputed." (See on the subject of monetary values F. Decrue, vol. ii. p. 7.)

¹ British Museum, Add. ch. 13955.

Mary in the Royal Nursery

a single piece of meat was purchased on that day.¹

From other Court accounts of 1551, we learn that the royal children had many favourite animals. Among these were four large bulldogs, "well muzzled," and twenty-two little drawing-room dogs. They had horses and ponies, falcons, tiercelets, and tame birds in cages. The greatest nobles of France sent them horses and dogs. The Dauphin's favourite horses were named "Fontaine," "Enghien," and "Chastillon"; the Queen of Scotland's, "Bravane" and "Madame la Réale." Wild animals and serpent from Africa were shown to the children. "Wolves were brought for them to see, and boars caught in the snare. The Count of Saint-Aignan gave the Dauphin a hind, which amused him for a long time. The Sieur des Carpentils and the Marshal Saint-André each sent him a bear."²

Grown-up people, as well as children, were fond of collecting wild animals. Catherine de' Medici wrote to the Duke of Florence, asking him to send her two lion cubs, and in another letter she thanked him for the gift.³

The watchful care of the Duchess Antoinette de Guise never failed her granddaughter, though she did not put herself obtrusively forward in the Court. She had promised the Queen Dowager of Scotland that after bringing the child to Saint-Germain she would remain with her a few days, to make her at home with the Dauphin and his sisters. The Lady Fleming, who had been selected as Mary's governess, would

¹ British Museum, Add. ch. 13956.

² A. de Ruble, *La Première Jeunesse*, p. 69.

³ *Lettres de Catherine de Médicis*, vol. i. p. 34.

Lady Fleming

not have been the personal choice of her grandmother, who preferred Mademoiselle de Curel, but Antoinette admitted that as she had lived with the Queen from the child's infancy and understood her constitution, it was but right that she should retain her post. "As for French and the accomplishments which will be wanted here, since Mademoiselle de Curel understands them better than the others, I do not think you will mind if she helps and serves her [Lady Fleming]." On January 16, 1549, Madame de Guise wrote: "She could not possibly be more highly honoured. She and Madame Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of the Queen [Catherine de' Medici] are lodged together, and this seems to me a very good thing, for so they will be brought up to love each other as sisters."

Father Pollen prints the very interesting letter of Giovanni Ferreri to the Bishop of Orkney on the choice of a physician for Mary.¹

"Inquiries are being made here," he says, "about a medical adviser, who may pay attention to her health, according to the custom of Courts. There are many French who desire the office, but in my opinion it would not be prudent, nor very fitting for her Majesty [to give them the post]. The greater part of them either do not appreciate the importance of their art, or are not the persons to comprehend a Scottish temperament. They will all rather do harm than good to the young Queen. Only one [candidate] is of Scottish race, William Bog, Doctor of Medicine. He is so learned that he will bear comparison with any Frenchman, and is by far the best in diagnosing Scottish temperaments. All the Scots at Court ardently wish him to get the post, but the modest man hesitates to accept such a responsibility until he

¹ *Papal Negotiations*, pp. 414, 415.

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has won the Queen Mother's consent. But as he cannot easily find a man of authority and note to obtain that consent for him, he has dealt with me to request you not to fail him, or rather not to fail the Queen in a matter like this. I well know that you are so acceptable to the Queen Mother that she will not refuse this favour, be it what it may, if only she knows that it is sanctioned by your advice.

"A very important point is that Lady Fleming would not be able to explain in her own language except to a Scot what the little Queen's ailments were, should such occur. To provide for health it is of the first importance to diagnose the nature of the body.

"But perhaps I am more prolix than necessary. You know what a difference there is between a doctor of one's own country and a foreigner. My friend, besides being of your nation, is both a skilful druggist and doctor, and above all a lover of religion and of his country's liberty. If you do this favour, I shall reckon it as done to myself."

Father Pollen thinks that the office must have been granted to one of the many French who desired it, for William Bog's name is not included in the list of Mary's household.

The infant Queen won all hearts from the day of her coming to France. Jean de Beaugué describes her as "one of the most perfect creatures that were ever seen." "Beginning as she did in early childhood, with such wondrous and laudable gifts, there was reason to form as high hopes of her as of any princess on the earth."

Catherine de' Medici wrote to Mary's mother that the child was as pretty, good, and virtuous as possible—"more so, indeed, than might be expected at her age." "You are wonderfully fortunate in having such a daughter, and I am more fortunate still because

Death of the First Duke of Guise

God has so disposed matters as to grant her to me, for I think it will be the strength of my old age to have her with me."

The spring of 1550 brought changes to the house of Guise. Duke Claude passed away on April 12, at the Castle of Joinville, after an illness which had lasted two months. Of his six sons, two only, the eldest and the youngest, were in France at the time of his death. The others were widely scattered. Charles and Louis had gone to Rome near the end of 1549, when the news of the death of Pope Paul III. reached France. Charles, then known as Cardinal of Guise, was one of the most influential members of the Conclave which elected Julius III. The full story of the action of this masterful prelate of twenty-four is set out in the Venetian State Papers, in the letters of Claude d'Urfé, and in a significant letter of the Cardinal Odet de Châtillon to the Constable.

He himself wrote to the Queen Dowager of Scotland from Rome in February: "The news of the death of the late Pope Paul was so suddenly brought, and my departure from Court was so hurried, that I had not time to write you and take leave of you by letter, as I had to go to that holy election. It was delayed until the 7th of this month, when it pleased God to inspire our conferences and to elect as Pope, Julius, third of that name, formerly surnamed the Cardinal de Monte. I hope that the Church and all Christendom will find in him a very good pastor and governor, and especially that you will find him helpful and favourable to your affairs."¹

The Grand Prior of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem in France, fifth son of the Duke of Guise,

¹ Balcarres Papers, vol. ii. No. 139. See Appendix A.

Mary in the Royal Nursery

was dispatched by Henry II. to congratulate his Holiness. Claude, the third son, was to proceed to England as a hostage after the Treaty of Boulogne.

Tender letters were sent by Antoinette de Bourbon to her eldest son, Francis, informing him of the progress of his father's malady.

She told him that "the good lord suffers much." "He received the Host on Sunday, after having made Confession three times during the week. He told me to-night that he wishes to receive extreme unction. I see no prospect of his recovery." The Duchess added, "Save for God, I can have no other hope or consolation except in you, my children. I have no doubt of your goodwill. May God help us and give you health and His grace, and to me patience that I may bear His will. I want to have it, but I cannot help feeling such deep sorrow that in truth it is as much as I can bear."¹

Claude, Duke of Guise, was only fifty-four at the time of his death, yet as a statesman he had found himself too old at fifty. Henry II., at his accession, reorganised the private, or inner Council. Its members included middle-aged men, such as the Cardinal John of Lorraine, Henry of Navarre, and the Constable Montmorency, but with them were found the King's contemporaries, Antoine, Duke of Vendôme, and Francis, Duke of Aumale, while a place was found for the Archbishop of Rheims, Charles of Lorraine, who had completed his twenty-second year at the time of the accession. Dr. Wotton, writing on April 6, 1547, to the Council of Edward VI., said that of the "younger sort of those that are at the Court already, these seem to be chief favourites: Andelot,

¹ *Mémoires-Journaux du Duc de Guise*, p. 31.

Was the Duke Poisoned ?

younger brother of Chatillon, and his brother, the Cardinal of Chatillon ; the Duke of Guise's sons, in a manner all, but especially these : Monsieur d'Aumale [Francis], the Bishop of Rheims [Charles], and the Bishop of Troyes [Louis], who, as I hear, are all three of the Council. Monsieur d'Aumale is in very great favour—but in greatest estimation and favour of all, as it appeareth hitherto, either of them of the older sort or of the younger sort, seemeth to be the said Bishop of Rheims, who had the chief ordering of the King's house, he being Dolphin, whom I could wish to be of as good judgment in matters of religion as I take the Cardinal du Bellay to be, but I hear he is not so, but very earnest in upholding the Romish blindness."

The star of the Duke of Guise had waned before his children's glory. His own place under Henry II. was in the "after-dinner Council," which we should call, perhaps, "the outer Cabinet." The first of the two Councils was in every way the more important, and the statesmen who guided its deliberations were the most influential Ministers of the reign. Mary of Lorraine, as we may gather from a letter to her brother Francis, had resented the arrangements which relegated her father to a secondary position. "If it were in my power, my father would be more honoured than he is, for he would have a more important place in the Council, and the white-bearded man would not be kept waiting at the door." ¹

It was strongly suspected by the family that the first Duke of Guise perished by poison, but no accusation was fixed on any individual. Shortly before his death he said to his wife, "I know not whether

¹ *Mémoires-Journaux du Duc de Guise*, p. 33.

Mary in the Royal Nursery

he who has given me the poisoned food is great or small, but even if he were present and I knew his name, I would not mention it, or accuse him ; but would pray for him and do him good. I pardon him for my death as freely as I pray my Saviour to pardon me my sins." After receiving the viaticum, the dying Duke said, "Please God, I am about to go hence, and to dwell with Him and His saints."

Students of the Guise annals learn to accept with caution the death-bed stories which were compiled by obsequious ecclesiastics to suit the taste of the family. "He can't be wrong whose death is in the right," was a favourite principle in the sixteenth century. The inscription on the Duke's coffin assigned poison as the cause of his malady, and in his funeral sermon it was said that he had been poisoned by "an Anti-Christ and minister of Satan." History does not confirm this belief, but there can be no doubt, as René de Bouillé remarks, that the dying words of Claude of Lorraine "left a profound and gloomy impression on the hearts of his children."¹ They turned, as with a common impulse, to the new head of the family, the young Duke Francis, who at his father's death had reached the age of thirty. "Henceforth," wrote Francis, the Grand Prior, to his brother and godfather, "you will be to me both father and brother. Such you have been since my life began, and I will obey you as your own son."

The Queen Dowager of Scotland wrote to the Duke, "I have lost the best father that ever any child lost," and she committed herself and her daughter to the care and protection of the new chief of the family.

The widowed Antoinette consulted her son on the

¹ *Histoire des Ducs de Guise*, vol. i. p. 215.

Was Mary at the Funeral?

arrangements for the funeral, which was deferred till the middle of June on account of the absence of the four brothers. We gather from her letters that the magnificence of the obsequies diverted her mind, in some degree, from personal suffering. "I am puzzled what to do about the mantle," she wrote to Francis, "because the herald has told us that you had decided to have it sewn with Jerusalem crosses."

Father Stevenson is mistaken when he states that Queen Mary took part in the funeral services held at Joinville in the last week of June 1550 for the Duke Claude of Guise.¹ He cites as his authority Emond du Boullay, King-at-Arms of Lorraine, whose important work of over a hundred pages, dedicated to the new Duke Francis, and published in 1551, ought certainly to be conclusive.² A careless reader of Emond du Boullay might suppose that the Queen Dowager of Scotland and her daughter were both present, for he refers more than once to "les Roynes d'Escosse" as taking part in the prolonged ceremony. But the student who has any acquaintance with the period will remember that Mary of Lorraine did not arrive in France till September 1550, so that she at least was not present in person at her father's funeral. Father Stevenson's mistake is the more surprising, because Emond du Boullay states clearly, three or four times over, that the royalties of France and Scotland were represented by their envoys. The representative of Henry II. was spoken of and honoured as "the King," those of the Scottish mother and daughter were

¹ *Mary Stuart*, p. 104: "The little Mary assisted at the funeral."

² *Le tres-excellent enterrement du tres-hault et tres-illustre Prince, Claude de Lorraine, Duc de Guise. 1551.*

Mary in the Royal Nursery

“ the Queens of Scotland.” The point is interesting, for if the child Queen had indeed taken part in the majestic and regal ceremonies at Joinville, this would have been her first close personal contact with the solemn pomp of death. She must have heard those mournful words which brought the funeral to a close.

“ Silence, silence, silence. The mighty and illustrious Prince Claude of Lorraine, Duke of Guise and peer of France, is dead ; the Duke of Guise is dead, the Duke of Guise is dead.” The major-domo broke his bâton of office, kissed the two ends, and flung the pieces into the hall, crying as he did so, “ His household is broken up ; let each provide for himself.”

The royal child was not at Joinville in June 1550. The following passage of Emond du Boullay is conclusive : “ When this was finished, the King’s envoy was led into a richly decorated hall, where supper was served to him in royal state, and in the same way all the others were treated, just as if the King himself, the Dauphin, the Queens, and all the Princes of the blood had been present in person.”

Henry II. was visiting Boulogne during the weeks of mourning, and the new Duke was sent for to arrange with him in person the order of the funeral. The King-at-Arms of Lorraine was in the ducal train, and he informs us that the King agreed to the sumptuous and prolonged memorial rites because “ Duke Claude was the son of a King, a Prince of Lorraine, which is a sovereign House.” If Henry II. in his slow intellect, retained any memory of his father’s warning against the ambition of the Guises the proceedings of the eight funeral days must have filled him with misgivings. Kings of France—Henry’s own son Francis, among others—have been buried

A Stately Burial

with far less magnificence than Claude of Guise. The absence of royal personages from the funeral may not have been without significance, and we shall see, as the reign proceeds, that a sullen ill-will grew up in Henry's mind against the Princes without a fatherland.

One lesson of the funeral may be touched upon in passing. It was the fashion with sixteenth-century historians to represent the Duke Francis of Guise as a glorious soldier and patriot, whose faults were caused by the evil influence of his brother, the Cardinal Charles. Agrippa d'Aubigné says that his natural disposition would have led him, not to the ruin, but to the extension of France, "in another age and under a different brother."¹ Claude de l'Aubespine describes him as "a great warrior-chief, a captain who might have served his country, if his brother's ambition had not hindered and poisoned him."² But who arranged for that funeral triumph at Joinville? Not the Cardinal Charles, for he was at Rome when his father died. The responsibility for that display, on French soil, of the princely honours of a house whose head was not under French allegiance, belongs to Duke Francis only. He was the last man to be enslaved by an ambitious younger brother, though he valued the superior statecraft of Charles, and was bound to him by personal affection. As Michelet has truly said, the best characteristic of the Guises was their spirit of brotherly union. They moved as one man in pursuit

¹ *Histoire Universelle*, vol. ii. pp. 143, 144. Edition of the French Historical Society, edited by A. de Ruble.

² *Histoire particulière de la Cour du Roy Henri II.* (Cimber et Danjou, "Archives curieuses," 1st Series, vol. iii.).

Mary in the Royal Nursery

of a common aim. Each morning, when all were at Court, the four younger brothers went to the Cardinal's room, and with him they proceeded to visit Francis, under whose wing the five went later on to meet the King. If one were absent, the other knew how to direct the common policy.

The Cardinal John of Lorraine, Queen Mary's great-uncle, passed away not long after his brother, on his return journey from Rome. Emond du Boullay, who wrote an account of his funeral, describes him as "the most generous of all the Cardinals in the world." A blind beggar in Italy, a Brantôme tells us, cried out, on receiving alms from a passing stranger, "You are either Jesus Christ or the Cardinal of Lorraine." On festival occasions the Cardinal John provided himself with a wallet, containing coins which he distributed to the people. He was the companion of Francis I. in business and pleasure.

The account which Emond du Boullay gives of the last days of this amiable worldling is a sufficient warning to the student to beware of the memorabilia of the Valois period. What could be more unctuous than the following passage?—"And as on that day they were reading to him a Psalm of David, full of consolation and of the high mysteries of the Eternal, he took comfort and so stayed himself on the sure promises of God that for several days past he had not been heard to speak so profoundly of God or to admire more devoutly and carefully the greatness of His good and holy will, and the wondrous effects of His eternal power. He spoke of these things from noon until about four o'clock, when he sat down at table to supper." At table, he was carried off by an apoplectic seizure.

The Cardinal John

Diane de Poitiers, on hearing of the death of the Cardinal John, wrote to the new Duke of Guise that this was sorrow on sorrow. "It is a visitation sent you by our Lord, in order that He may still make trial of your virtues." ¹

The worst men and women of the Court of Henry II. wrote as if the recording angel were leaning over their shoulders. The letters of the period are rarely a true indication of the moral character of the sender. The language of the most fervent devotion rose to lips sullied by the darkest crimes. The Queen of Scotland spent her earliest years in a world where religion, in high places, was sometimes fatally divorced from morality. That is one essential fact amid the broken records of her childhood.

¹ Guiffrey, *Lettres de Dianne de Poytiers*, p. 60.

CHAPTER III

THE HOUSE OF GUISE IN 1550—VISIT OF THE QUEEN DOWAGER OF SCOTLAND TO FRANCE

History of the Guises—Their ambitions—The Queen Dowager's loneliness after her daughter's departure—Letters to her brothers—Her visit to France—English envoys and the talk of royal marriages—Mary of Lorraine returns to Scotland—Disappointments of her visit—The scandal of Lady Fleming—The attempt to poison Queen Mary—The Cardinal of Lorraine as Mary's "gouvernante."

CLAUDE, the first Duke of Guise, was a son of Duke René II. of Lorraine, and his wife, Philippa of Gueldres. He was born in 1496, and as a youth was sent to seek his fortunes in France. He married, when only seventeen, Antoinette de Bourbon, daughter of Francis, Duke of Vendôme. Antoinette became the mother of twelve children, of whom ten are known to history, the others having died in infancy. It was her sad destiny to survive all but one of them, the Abbess Renée of Saint-Pierre at Rheims, who passed away in 1602, at the age of eighty. The Duchess died in 1583, in her eighty-ninth year. As son after son was lost to her in the prime of manhood, her heart consoled itself with the thought that they had died for God's glory, and in defence of His cause. She thought of them as like the holy witnesses "under the altar," who awaited the Divine vengeance upon their enemies; and of herself as honoured above women, the mother of martyrs. Her sons loved her



Antoinette de Bourbon

Antoinette de Bourbon
From an enamel portrait in the Cluny Museum Paris

Ambition of the Guises

tenderly. "If it were not for my old mother," wrote the Cardinal Charles in the year of his death, "I should never have wished more earnestly to be at Rome." The private letters of the Duchess are full of motherly solicitude. It startles us to find Michelet describing her as "that old fury, Antoinette."

The workings of the law of heredity are strikingly manifested in the history of these semi-royal adventurers the Guises. If we ask what qualities Claude and Antoinette transmitted to their children, the first answer must be, a boundless ambition. Through their ancestor, René of Anjou, who married the heiress of Lorraine, they had claims on Naples and Sicily. The Cardinal Charles, on his first visit to Rome in 1547, urged Henry II. to assert his rights over the kingdom of Naples. "Some say to me," wrote the diplomatist of twenty-two, "that if you do not wish to undertake this enterprise, you might accredit me or one of my brothers. They will give me men and money, and put me in that kingdom that I may hand it over to a brother of mine."¹ The Cardinal proposed at this time to call in the aid of the infidels against his fellow-Christians in Southern Italy.

A glance at the family shield reveals the high pretensions of the Guises. Besides the silver eaglets of Lorraine they quartered the lilies of Anjou and Sicily, the crimson bars of Hungary, and the double cross of Jerusalem. In recognition of splendid services rendered by Claude of Guise, Francis I. had raised his countship to a duchy in 1527. Claude had fought heroically by the King's side at Marignano in

¹ Letter quoted by René de Bouillé, vol. i. p. 179.

The House of Guise in 1550

1515, and had received twenty-two wounds. One of his brothers was killed, and he himself lay apparently lifeless on the field, when he was rescued by a Scottish gentleman of the royal household. Claude's gallant conduct in rallying the German mercenaries who had retreated, at Marignano, before the fierce onset of the Swiss, laid the foundations of his fortunes in France. As a military leader, he was brave, resourceful, and sagacious, but his popularity was slowly undermined by his greed and selfishness. In character he was not unlike a German officer of mercenaries, ready to sell his sword to the highest bidder. The love of money was strong within him. "His greedy, calculating spirit," says a French writer, "is in striking contrast with the generous and disinterested heart of Bayard."¹ He called himself a descendant of Charlemagne, and had the instincts of the petty trader.

Claude did not accompany the army to Italy in 1525, thus escaping the defeat of Pavia. During the King's captivity he made himself necessary to the Regent, Louise of Savoy, and it has been suggested that he dreamt at this time of founding an Angevin dynasty in France.² According as it suited their policy, the Guises were accustomed to act as Frenchmen or as foreigners. Their splendid military achievements were more than counterbalanced by the recklessness of their ambition. Though Duke Claude had thirteen estates in France, he chose to represent himself as a foreign prince. His son Francis, at the time of his marriage, called himself by the royal title, "Francis of Anjou," and the Cardinal Charles, on his

¹ H. Forneron, *Les Ducs de Guise et leur Époque*, vol. i. p. 29.

² *Ibid.* p. 33.

Hereditary Characteristics

first visit to Rome, adopted the same distinction. Henry II. gave this dangerous and much-disputed title to one of his own sons, thus placing the name "Anjou" and the lofty pretensions bound up with it beyond the reach of any subject.

Claude of Guise handed on to his sons the tradition of prowess in the field, extreme religious bigotry, a hard and grasping disposition, together with vague dreams of sovereignty. No conscientious scruples had ever been allowed to interfere with his personal advancement. The faults which marred the characters of his sons, Francis and Charles, can be traced, with rare exceptions, to paternal example and inheritance.¹

The credit of the Guises in France had been in-

¹ Father Stevenson is right, we believe, in his opinion that Queen Mary learned much that was good from her grandmother Antoinette, and other members of the house of Guise, but he fixes on the worst person connected with the family for special commendation. "Claude, Duke of Guise," writes Father Stevenson, "had a son named after himself, who died Abbot of Cluny in 1604. It appears then that the young Queen had many opportunities of spending part of her time with several of her near relatives, from whose conversation and example, one may presume, she would gain much benefit and instruction" (*Mary Stuart*, p. 96). The "Claude" referred to by Father Stevenson was an illegitimate son of the first Duke of Guise, and a man of abandoned morals. His character did not, as far as history records, possess one redeeming feature. Readers of that ferocious pamphlet, *La Légende de Domp Claude de Guise*, will remember that he is accused, among other crimes, of poisoning the Cardinal Charles by means of a scented purse. Dom Claude of Guise, Abbot of Saint Nicaise de Reims and afterwards of Cluny, was, according to René de Bouillé (*Les Ducs de Guise*, vol. i. p. 222), "a man of such depraved morals and of so intolerant and cruel a disposition (as was shown during the massacre of St. Bartholomew) that the attacks made upon him in the "Legend," although unjust in some particulars, are easily explicable as regards their sources." A more recent authority, M. Forneron, remarks: "That curious type of Abbot, Dom Claude, distinguished himself by his exploits at the St. Bartholomew, was accused of having poisoned his brother, the second Cardinal of Lorraine, and died, after a career which was generally despised" (*Les Ducs de Guise*, vol. i. p. 47).

The House of Guise in 1550

Sir John Mason, writing a year later, said, "The credit of the House of Guise in this court passeth all others. For albeit the Constable hath the outward administration of all things, being for that service such a man as hard it were to find the like, yet have they so much credit as he with whom he is constrained to sail, and many times to take that course that he liketh never a whit."¹

Duke Claude had smoothed the way with much astuteness for his successor. By the self-effacing policy of his later years he gave time for old jealousies to die, old exactions to be forgotten. If the seeds of opinion unfavourable to the Guises had been planted in the mind of Henry II. by his father's warning they could ripen but slowly in the companionship of the gay and generous Duke Francis.

With the masses, also, Claude had skilfully ingratiated himself. His work in later life had been to defend the eastern frontier, and to protect Paris. Thus he was constantly in the public eye, and won gratitude for obvious services, while other leaders were losing credit in the weary Italian campaigns.

The favour of the people passed in double measure to his successor, whose military genius was as far superior to his father's as his personal character was more gracious and lovable.

Careful preparations were made for the journey of the Queen Dowager. On August 3, 1550, Sir John Mason mentioned to the Council that he had been required to write for her "good entreating," in case she should be driven by stress of weather into any English port, or require a passport for a hackney or two. "It is said she is to be married to the King of

¹ *Foreign Calendar*, "Edward VI.," p. 76.

The Entry into Rouen

Navarre [Henry d'Albret], whom the Lady Margaret has refused." ¹

On August 25, Sir John wrote that great preparations were being made for Mary's reception and that M. de Guise with the whole of the nobility was gone to Dieppe to meet her. Before leaving for Scotland to fetch the royal visitor, the Prior of Capua,² according to Mason, had provided for about a thousand ells of white damask wherewith to apparel the slaves and mariners. The little Mary suffered from illness about the time of her mother's arriving. On September 10 the English Ambassador wrote: "For the last ten or twelve days the Queen of Scots has been so dangerously ill of the prevailing flux that her recovery was doubtful, but within the last two she is considered to be out of danger." ³

The Queen Dowager, attended by a distinguished company of Scottish nobles and gentlemen, entered Rouen on September 25. Sir John Mason reported that the Scots "with their bands fill all this court; and such brawling, chiding and fighting make they here for their lodgings and others' quarrels, as though they lately came from some new conquest." ⁴

By the King's orders, Mary was received with the highest honour "by all estates of the town." The ancient capital of Normandy had been preparing for many months for the King's state entry. Her magistrates wished to outdo the triumphs of Lyon and Paris. Permission had been granted in August to the book-seller Robert le Hoy, to prepare an illustrated Souvenir

¹ *Foreign Calendar*, "Edward VI.," pp. 51, 52. "The Lady Margaret" was the sister of Henry II.

² Leo Strozzi.

³ *Foreign Calendar*, "Edward VI.," p. 54.

⁴ Tytler's *Edward VI. and Mary*, vol. i. p. 329.

The House of Guise in 1550

of the occasion, and his work, with its beautiful plates, is one of the most precious treasures of the reign. It was not ready till December 1551, and meanwhile another printer, Robert Masselin, published a shorter and less pretentious narrative of the events of October 1 and 2.¹

Henry II. had brought the child Queen to Normandy, and she, with her mother, must have witnessed the public entertainments in honour of Henry and Catherine. It was on Wednesday, October 1, that the King made his "joyous and triumphant entry into his good town of Rouen," which is as well adapted as Lyon or Paris for outdoor festivities. We can picture the scene to-day, as we follow the winding course of the Seine, with the many islets which are like barges arrested in midstream. The river-breeze on that autumn morning ruffled the folds of countless banners, the morning light was reflected from sparkling jewels and threw up the rich colouring of the citizens' gala uniforms. First in the state procession came the religious orders, then the secular clergy with their gold and silver crosses, next the tradesmen of the city in costly apparel. The powerful corporation of the salt merchants rode in costumes of grey taffeta, with black velvet caps adorned with white feathers.² The drapers wore white satin doublets, and gold buckles shone in their caps. The fishmongers had doublets of red satin. Twenty-four Councillors passed by in their black satin robes. A high official of the Parlement was resplendent in scarlet, with ermine

¹ Robert Masselin's booklet of 1550 was republished in 1882 by the Société des Bibliophiles Normands.

² Brantôme says of the Duke Francis of Guise that he loved feathers, and he shared this fancy with the majority of his countrymen.

Reception of the King and Court

cap surmounted by great pearls. The horses were apparelled hardly less sumptuously than their masters. After the riders came gay companies of foot men, some dressed in white and green, others in white and red. Surprising indeed to the child Queen must have been the sight of the triumphal cars, bearing goddesses and nymphs. In one car sat a mimic King, robed in white velvet, and behind him stood a beautiful woman, holding a crown over his head. The most astonishing show was the procession of six elephants: the first carried on its back a tray of lighted lamps, the second a church, the third a villa, the fourth a castle, the fifth a town, and the sixth a ship. Here was a company of soldiers in Turkish costume, there a group of men each of whom carried a live sheep. The Constable Montmorency bore the naked sword before Henry II., who rode alone on a chestnut horse, followed by the archers of the guard. His costume was of white velvet and cloth of silver, with a white plume in his hat. Entertainments of "strange device" were provided for him on his journey. In the suburb of Saint Sever he had received addresses from public bodies, and as he approached the main bridge there crept out from a huge artificial rock Hercules and the seven-headed hydra. Within the cave sat Orpheus on a throne, and soft music was played by fairylike girls around him. The procession halted while Hercules fought with the serpent and crushed it in the dust. The first river-marvel was a huge whale. Salvoes of artillery welcomed the King as he crossed the bridge. The people of Rouen had squandered money on this reception. Fifty Brazilian natives had been landed at the port, and these joined in a combat between two ships, one of which was given over at the end to the

The House of Guise in 1550

savages, who pillaged and burned it, while the crew took refuge on an island.¹

The most impressive sight of all was that shown to the King near the bridge of Robec. There was displayed a green enclosure, described by Masselin as "an Elysian field or earthly paradise." Within the enclosure lay two figures, representing Francis I. and Henry II., with a goddess watching their slumbers. Latin inscriptions were placed on either side: "Sedes ubi fata quietas ostendunt," and "Ut requiescant a laboribus suis."

What modern city would dare to present such reminders of the everlasting rest to a monarch in the prime of his years?

The King heard Mass in the Cathedral, and dined at the Abbey of Saint-Ouen. On the following day Catherine de' Medici made her entry, accompanied by the ladies of the Court. Two only are mentioned by Robert Masselin: Madame Margaret, the King's sister, and the Duchess of Valentinois. Catherine was dressed in cloth of silver, and her ducal cap was covered with gems. "The eye sank before the vision of her magnificence," says the old writer. Diane was in black velvet, trimmed with ermine. Each lady in the Queen's procession wore a white feather.²

¹ For details of this pageant, see the work of Jean Ferdinand Denis, *Une Fête brésilienne célébrée à Rouen*.

² Mary of Lorraine was not forgotten by the chroniclers of these royal festivities. M. de Merval, a Norman antiquary, published in 1868 a curious contemporary poem which describes these October days. It contains a flattering reference to the Queen Dowager:—

"Icy ne fault passer dessoubz silence
La grant vertu, la virile constance,
Icy ne fault que l'on mette en arrière
Le cueur royal de leur Royne douairière,

The Winter at Blois

Mary of Guise felt that she had deserved well of the Crown of France, and the nobles in her train were greedy for rewards. English statesmen had by no means yet abandoned the project of marrying the Queen of Scotland to Edward VI., and the credit for saving her for a French alliance belonged to her mother and the Parliament of Haddington. On December 4, Sir John Mason wrote from Blois, "The Scots bear a fell rout in this court, and be much made of all estates." Bishop Lesley informs us that the King behaved so graciously to the Scots nobles "that at all tyme the said King Henrie was thocht to be the moist humane and luffing King to Scottis men of ony that had bene mony yeris preceding, and so hie contenowit in the same favour to his deith."¹

The winter was spent merrily at Blois. Sir John Mason describes gay doings between Candlemas and Shrovetide. In the first week of February (1550-51) there were processions, tournaments, and masked dances, to which the ambassadors were invited. The little Mary must have been a spectator of some, at least, of these amusements. A banquet was given by the Cardinal of Lorraine, at which the King

Qui ne craignoit ny armes ny meslée,
Faisant devoir d'une Panthazilée :

Et n'eust esté l'ordre par elle mis,
L'Escosse fust aux angloys ennemys :
Mais toutesfois Dieu la gardoit affin
Que son Roy fust nostre Francoys daulphin,
Et batissoit lors une trinité,
De sceptre uny en une majesté,
Que dire vray je puisse qu'il viendra
Ung jour qu'à France Albyon se joindra."

L'Entrée de Henri II. roi de France à Rouen. Avec notes par S. de Merval. Soc. des Bibliophiles Normands, 1868.

¹ *History of Scotland*, Bannatyne Club edition, p. 236.

The House of Guise in 1550

himself was steward and the Constable clerk of the kitchen. To this banquet also "were bade the ambassadors, to see but not to feed." Sir John had never witnessed a more goodly or a richer sight. "A man would have thought that all the jewels in Christendom had been assembled together, so gorgeously were the dames beset with great numbers of them, both their heads and their bodies."¹

On February 23, Mason heard that the King and Court were bent on war with England. The instigators were the Duke of Guise and his house, "in so much as it is already half concluded to send away the Queen of Scots with all convenient speed, and with her 300 or 400 men of arms and 10,000 foot."² He added that Mary of Lorraine "is in this court made a goddess. Mons. de Guise and M. d'Aumale and the Cardinal of Lorraine, partly at her egging and partly upon an ambitious desire to make their house great, be no hindrance of her malicious desire," that is, for the subversion of England.³

Sir John's suspicions can hardly have survived the friendly negotiations at Chateaubriand in June 1551. The Marquis of Northampton was sent by Edward VI. at the head of a splendid embassy to invest Henry II. with the Garter. Among the English representatives were the Bishop of Ely, Sir Philip Hoby, Sir William Pickering, and Sir John Mason. They were instructed to treat on Edward's marriage, to sound the King in the first place with regard to the Queen of Scots, and if she were held to be pledged definitively to the Dauphin, to make proposals for the hand of the Princess Elizabeth.

¹ *Foreign Calendar*, "Edward VI.," pp. 71, 72.

² *Ibid.* p. 75.

³ *Ibid.*

Games at Chateaubriand

Writing on June 20 to the Lords of the Council, the Marquis of Northampton and his colleagues acknowledged the hospitality of their reception, and the liberal entertainment given them by M. de Châtillon.¹ Coligny was acting, no doubt, on behalf of his uncle the Constable, who was a Knight of the Garter and was in closest touch with the Court of England. M. de Châtillon feasted the guests "all the way to the court, making us such cheer (at his own charges) as was not to be looked for in Bretagne, where, besides the scarcity of good victuals, everything is extreme dear ; and yet was his provision such as made us wonder in that place to see it."

Pleasures were interspersed with graver business at Chateaubriand. On the first evening the young English lords joined the King in the garden in shooting at the butts. "Then he brought us and all the company to the Queen's chamber, where we found him with the old and the young Scottish queens, and a great company of ladies, at whose hands we had also such good welcome as might be had, and so the King fell to dancing and drove forth the night to bedtime." On the following day, after dinner, Henry II., who loved to display his agility in games, invited the English guests to look on while he joined in a tennis match. There was wrestling, on the Saturday evening, between Bretons and Englishmen. "That done, we returned in, and the King fell to dancing, as he did the night before, causing some of our younger Lords to dance for his pleasure. Then he had us into his bedchamber, where we heard his musicians sing, which he delighteth wonderfully to hear."

¹ Tytler, *England under Edward VI. and Mary*, vol. i. pp. 385-402.

The House of Guise in 1550

On Sunday morning Henry received the Order after a brief Latin oration from the Bishop of Ely which was translated to the King by the Cardinal of Lorraine. The Cardinal responded in Latin that the King his master highly thanked his good brother and was contented to receive the Order, with singular desire for perpetual amity. At the banquet which followed, the Marquis of Northampton, the Constable, and the Cardinal had places at the royal table, the Knights of the Garter wearing their heavy robes, which they were glad to throw off as soon as the meal was finished.

At an afternoon conference with Henry, the Marquis set forth his instructions about the marriage but the answer was withheld until the following day when the English envoys met the principal members of the French Council of State. After Northampton had pressed for the delivery of Mary, the Constable made reply. The task was left to him partly, perhaps because of his known popularity in England. “ ‘ By my troth,’ quoth the Constable, ‘ to be plain and frank with you, seeing you require us so to be the matter hath cost us both much riches and no little blood, and so much doth the honour of France hang hereupon as we cannot tell how to talk with you therein, the marriage being already concluded between her and the Dauphin and therefore we would be glad to hear no more thereof.’ ”

There is reason to think that Northampton's offer for Mary was a matter of form. Far from pressing the suit, he at once brought forward the name of Elizabeth, and to this proposal the Constable gave a favourable reply on his master's behalf. A dowry

Mary of Lorraine and the Regency

of 1,500,000 French crowns was asked for with the Princess. " ' Frankly demanded,' quoth they, laughing." The English envoys were instructed to haggle about the dowry and to lower their terms to 200,000 crowns if necessary, rather than break off the marriage. The death of Edward VI., two years later, put an end to this promising scheme, and the Princess Elizabeth, at the age of fourteen, became the third wife of Philip II.

The Queen Dowager was occupied, during her year in France, in preparing the way for her accession to the Regency in place of Châtelherault. She procured from Henry II. gifts and promises for the Scottish lords in her train, thus pledging them closely to her interests and his. Bishop Lesley mentions that the King undertook to cause the Queen of Scotland to confirm these favours at her coming of age, or that he should " gif thame as guid within the realme of France." ¹ As the year advanced, Mary of Guise tried the King's patience by her ceaseless importunities about money. On May 10, Sir John Mason wrote from Tours : " The Dowager of Scotland maketh all this Court weary of her, from the high to the low, such an importunate beggar is she for herself and her chosen friends. The King would fain be rid of her, and she, as she pretendeth, would fain be gone." " The ' trucking,' " added Sir John, " is about money matters ; the King wishes her to go upon a promise of payment, but she wishes to have the money with her." ²

The boastful talk which had been heard from the Scots in their first months in France—talk of the ease

¹ Lesley's *History*, p. 237.

² *Foreign Calendar*, " Edward VI.," p. 103.

The House of Guise in 1550

with which Ireland might be conquered, that Calais was not a seven nights' work, and that advantage might be taken of the political dissensions in England—died after the friendly settlement made with the English at Chateaubriand. There was, while Edward lived, a truce to the old enmity between France and England.

The scandal connected with Lady Fleming must have embittered the Queen Mother's stay at Court even if no personal trials had supervened to mar her holiday.

This beautiful Scotswoman, as we have seen from a letter of M. de Brézé, appears to have attracted the admiration of Henry II. soon after her coming to France. The King wrote to Mary of Guise on Lady Fleming's affairs on June 26, 1549, while he was in Paris for the state triumphs.

"My good Sister, I believe that you appreciate sufficiently the care, trouble, and great watchfulness which my cousin the Lady Fleming shows from day to day about the person of our little daughter the Queen of Scots. She has indeed done her duty so well and so virtuously in this matter that it is reasonable that you and I should remember continually her children and her house." He added that Lady Fleming had complained to him that one of her children was still a prisoner in England, and requested the Queen Mother to arrange for his being exchanged for some English captive in Scotland. "You will thus be doing a good work,—and for one who deserves it."¹

A month later (from Chantilly, on July 25)

¹ *Maitland Club Miscellany*, vol. i. pp. 222, 223.

The King and Lady Fleming

Henry again appealed to Mary of Guise to secure the exchange for which Lady Fleming entreated him continually, because he wished to reward her "for the good and pleasing services she renders here about the person of our little daughter, the Queen of Scots."

The love-affair between the King and Lady Fleming was aided, according to some authorities, by the Constable, who wished to humiliate Diane de Poitiers. "The old worn pelf," wrote Sir John Mason, "fears thereby to lose some part of her credit, who presently reigneth alone, and governeth without impeach." Lady Fleming gave birth to a son, who is known to French history as the Bastard of Angoulême. We can well believe that the Queen Dowager, at the breaking out of this public scandal, thought of removing her daughter to a healthier moral atmosphere.

The gravest fears for the young Queen's life had been awakened by the discovery, towards the end of April, of a scheme for poisoning her, devised by an archer of the guard named Robert Stuart. A mystery hangs over this man's origin, the inception of his plot, his motives and possible supporters, and his ultimate fate.¹

¹ We can find no contemporary evidence in favour of Father Stevenson's suggestion that it was the same man who murdered the President Minard in 1559. Mr. Andrew Lang says: "Whether he was hanged, as Lesley says, or not, Dumas furnishes him with later adventures in the novel called *L'Horoscope*" (*History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 17). But Dumas introduces his Robert Stuart, the murderer of Minard, as aged twenty-two or twenty-three in 1559, so that he could hardly have supposed him to be the same man who in 1551, at the age of fifteen or sixteen, plotted against Mary. There is not a word, as far as we can discover, in *L'Horoscope* to show that Dumas identified the murderer of 1559 with the plotter of 1551.

The House of Guise in 1550

The French Ambassador in London, M. de Chémault, wrote to the Constable¹ that a Scot named Hérisson (or Henderson) had revealed to him Stuart's design. The would-be assassin had seen the Earl of Warwick and Lord Paget, and had suggested to them that by committing such a crime he might render valuable service to the Council. Warwick, according to his own account, expressed horror at the proposal, declaring that it was a thing to which neither he nor the lords of the Council could consent, even if they were to gain thereby the kingdoms of Scotland and France. He had sent the archer to prison, and readily agreed to give him up to the French Government.

After some delay the extradition took place, and Stuart was imprisoned in the Castle of Angers on the 5th of June 1551. The King wrote to M. de Chémault on June 6, "I have received the confession made at Calais by that miserable Scot who arrived here two days ago. I hope we shall soon get the truth out of him about that wicked and unhappy plot."

Bishop Lesley says that Stuart was tortured hanged and quartered, and there is no reason to suppose that he was set free, or escaped, as Father Stevenson suggests, to commit new crimes.²

The Queen Dowager's last weeks in France were saddened, not only by the parting from her daughter but by the death of the young Duke of Longueville her son by her first marriage. Writing on October 18 to her mother from Dieppe, Mary of Guise mentioned that her brother the Cardinal had visited he

¹ Teulet, *Papiers d'État*, vol. i. pp. 249-60.

² *Mary Stuart*, pp. 114-15.

Departure of Mary of Lorraine

and that they had conversed on business matters. "God wills that we should think we have eternal life in that place where we have perfect rest.¹ I think, Madame, as you are pleased to write me, that our Lord wills that I should be one of His own, since He has visited me so often and so heavily. Praised be He for all!"

On October 22, Mary arrived at Portsmouth, escorted by the Baron de la Garde with ten ships of war. She travelled to London by way of Guildford and Hampton Court, and was lodged in the Bishop of London's palace, proceeding afterwards to dine with Edward VI., who received her with honour. Bishop Lesley says that she was pressed to use her influence with Henry II. for the abandonment of her daughter's marriage with the Dauphin.² Skilfully waiving such appeals, Mary took leave of her youthful host, with most hearty and earnest thanks for the kingly usage of her and hers.

A letter expressing sorrow for her departure from France was written by Catherine de' Medici to the Duchess of Guise. "I regret her going so much," says Catherine, "that I cannot think of it without tears in my eyes."³

Earnest consultations must have been held at Joinville that autumn, between Mary of Guise and her widowed mother. Both these good women may well have dreaded the influence of such a Court as that of Henry II. on the girl whose character would be

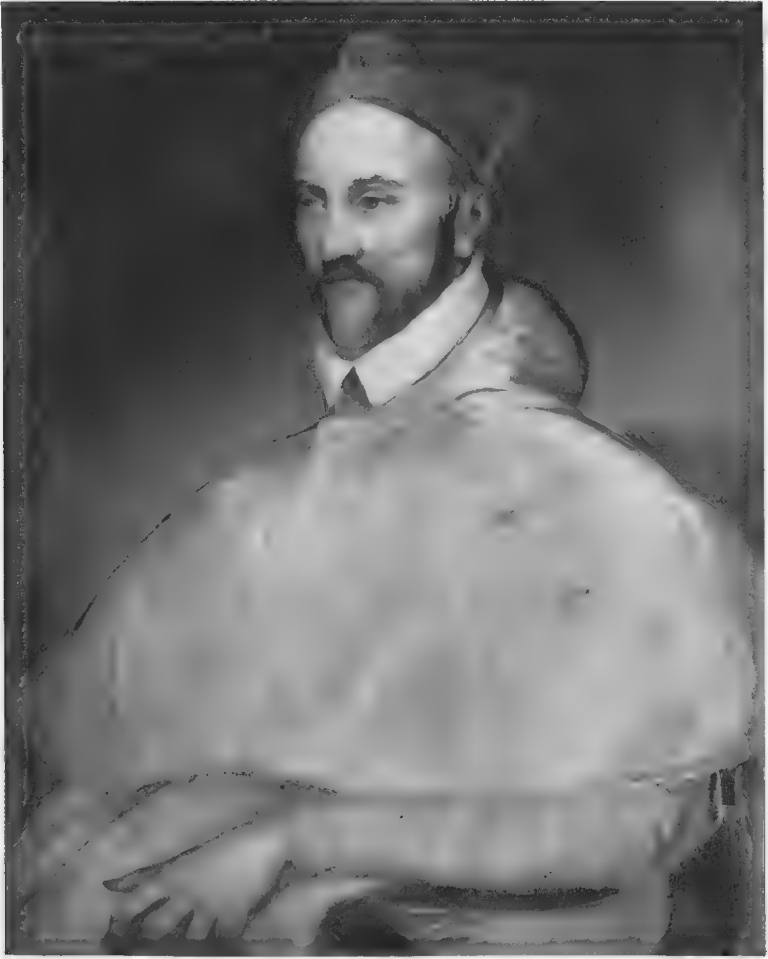
¹ "Dieu veult que nous pensions avoir l'éternelle vie là où nous avons parfaict repos." Letter printed by le Marquis de Pimodan, *La Mère des Guises*, pp. 380, 381.

² *History*, p. 240.

³ *Lettres de Cathérine de Médicis*, vol. i. p. 48.

The House of Guise in 1550

formed within the next six years. It may have been as the result of some definite family agreement that we find Queen Mary, after her mother's visit, under the constant and watchful supervision of the Cardinal of Lorraine.



Engraving by J. B. de la Haye

*The Cardinal of Lorraine at the age of 22
Photographed by special permission from the portrait in the
Archbishop's Palace at Rheims*

CHAPTER IV

CHARACTER OF MARY'S UNCLE, THE CARDINAL OF LORRAINE

Bishop Creighton's opinion of the Cardinal—Brantôme's estimate—Characteristic stories—The Cardinal's youth—His rare gifts—His sermon at the crowning of Henry II.—His personal appearance—Foreign ambassadors on his character—The charges of avarice and cowardice—How he spent his revenues—His uncle's debts—A fighting leader—His private correspondence—His relationship to Anne d'Arne—His love of children and care of his niece, Queen Mary.

BISHOP CREIGHTON, in *The Age of Elizabeth*, sums up as follows the character of Charles, Cardinal of Lorraine: "He was justly popular with the people,—a man of commanding presence, great affability, ready eloquence, unblemished moral character, unwearied zeal in discharging the duties of his archbishopric, and a high reputation for sanctity."¹ Hardly a single unbiased French historian, from the sixteenth century to our own time, would have agreed with Dr. Creighton on all these points. The Cardinal owes much more to foreign writers than to those of his own country. Ranke was one of the first to point out that the scandalous stories related by Brantôme refer, not to him, but to his uncle the Cardinal John.² When Brantôme mentions by name the statesman whom he describes in one place as "the pearl of all the pre-

¹ 17th edit. p. 54.

² *Werke*, viii. 141.

The Cardinal of Lorraine

lates of contemporary Christendom,"¹ he is divided between a strong and manifest personal dislike and an equally obvious unwillingness to offend the family.

Two of his tales may be quoted. The Cardinal was preaching on one occasion before the King, Queen and all the Court at Fontainebleau, and there were among the congregation several hundred Huguenots. In expounding the passage on the temptation in the wilderness he cried, "O Satan, my friend, what have I done that you should tempt me so?" There was much laughter, especially among the Huguenots which the preacher did not understand. On coming down from the pulpit he asked his followers to explain the reason of this untimely merriment. "They were laughing," was the reply, "because you called the devil your friend." The Cardinal was much vexed and said he would rather have spent ten thousand crowns than make this unconscious blunder.

The other anecdote refers to his visit to Venice in 1556. Many of the loveliest ladies of the city came to the windows of the palaces overlooking the Grand Canal, that they might see the handsome stranger. With Charles, in the state barge, was an elderly politician, who engaged him in conversation on public affairs. The Venetian noticed, after a while, that his companion's eyes were travelling towards the beautiful women who smiled upon him from balconies and window-gratings, and he said, "Monseigneur, I see you are not listening to me, and I do not wonder, for there is much more pleasure to be found in watching these pretty ladies at the windows than in listening to a tiresome old man like me, even if I were telling c

¹ Vol. iv. p. 278 (édition de la Société de l'Histoire de France, éditée by L. Lalanne).

Eloquence of the Cardinal

some conquest much to your advantage." The Cardinal, instantly recalled to his good manners, offered to repeat to the aged statesman every word that he had uttered, and did so, as Brantôme adds, so successfully "that he left that good old man much pleased with him."

When Brantôme, in his life of the Duke of Guise, enters on a closer analysis of the Cardinal's character, he seems to be drawn in two directions. Brantôme was happy in the company of Aumale, Elbœuf, and the Grand Prior, and he had a genuine reverence for the Duke of Guise, but he hated and feared their all-powerful brother. Charles, he says, was by nature very timid and cowardly; "he even acknowledged this."¹ At the same time "he had a most subtle mind and sound judgment, and an excellent memory." He was very graceful and handsome, spoke well and eloquently on all subjects, secular as well as religious. People thought him a great mischief-maker, very active and very ambitious.

Brantôme had heard the Cardinal preach, and in common with all contemporaries, felt a sincere admiration for his eloquence. He praises especially the sermon delivered at Fontainebleau, on the first Sunday of Lent, after his return from the Council of Trent. Condé and the other leading Huguenots were present, and, says Brantôme, "it was a pleasure to hear him, for no better sermon was ever preached." The Huguenots, though they laughed at the unlucky apostrophe to the great Tempter, could not restrain their eulogies.²

A phrase of Brantôme on which historians have fastened is that in which the Cardinal is said to have

¹ Vol. iv. p. 229.

² Vol. iv. pp. 276, 277.

The Cardinal of Lorraine

had "a deeply stained soul"¹ in comparison with his brother, the Duke of Guise. An examination of the context leads us to suppose that this dubious expression may have had a political meaning. Brantôme may possibly have intended to suggest that the Churchman was less simple and straightforward in his methods than the soldier, and more deeply sunk in the mire of party intrigue.

Charles, Cardinal of Lorraine, was born on February 17, 1525. At the age of nine he was appointed Archbishop-designate of Rheims. He studied at the College of Navarre in Paris, and among the personal friends of his youth were Pierre Ramus and Ronsard. We know from one of Ronsard's poems how he cherished these early friendships. He was a quick and eager student, and although the papal envoy, Santa Croce, sneered at him as *juvenis non illiteratus*, he was able, in after years, to hold his own with success against Beza at the Colloquy of Poissy, and to astonish the doctors at Trent by the powers of memory shown in his citations from the Fathers. Scholars from all parts of Europe sent contributions to his library, and it was the fashion among French writers to dedicate their books to him.

His earliest and best biographer, Nicolas Boucher, gives a charming picture of his student-life in Paris. As soon as he could escape from the Court routine, the boy prelate would shut himself into his room to read or write. At the College of Navarre, they said he had "always something on his mind." Ronsard refers to the premature gravity of his manners.

He invited learned men to dine or sup, not caring, says Boucher, if their origin was humble. By his

¹ "l'âme fort barboullée" (vol. iv. p. 229).

His Early Career

powerful protection Ramus was established in a chair of eloquence and philosophy. If a scholar called on the Archbishop unbidden: "Sit down," he would say, "and let us talk philosophy." He disputed in public and in private with the most learned doctors of the day. It would have been easy for him to follow the path of self-indulgence chosen by his uncle John, or by his brother Louis, "the bottle-loving Cardinal," but from childhood he set an example of strenuous industry. He acquired a fluent, if not an elegant Latinity, and we have the testimony of a Venetian ambassador that he spoke Italian like a native. The gifts which most dazzled his countrymen were his eloquence and his incomparable memory. French poets called him "our Mercury." The Chancellor Ollivier, as an anagram on the name *Carolus Lotaringus*, gave him the title, *Orator Gallicus unus*, — "the one French orator."

At the age of seventeen Charles was summoned to Court, where Francis I. entrusted him with the supervision of the Dauphin's household, though Henry was his senior by six years. René de Bouillé says that he surrounded himself with young gentlemen among whom he sought to encourage devout attachment to religion and the love of learning. At the age of twenty he was consecrated Archbishop of Rheims in the private chapel at Joinville, and two years later, as we have seen, he was admitted to the innermost councils of the State.

No choice had been granted him by destiny in the shaping of his career, for the first Duke of Guise possessed nothing of that haughty independence which led the Constable Montmorency to despise

The Cardinal of Lorraine

the wealth of the Church, and to select for each of his sons the military profession. Duke Claude wished to grasp money from all possible treasure-stores, and to win for his house the powerful support of the clergy as well as of the army and the people. Such talents as his second son possessed were from infancy developed so as to fit him for great ecclesiastical position. It was natural that Charles should step into the shoes of his uncle, the Cardinal John, who introduced him to Francis I. and secured for him his place in the royal household. Fanatical ideas were instilled into the boy's mind by one of his tutors, François le Picart,¹ and his father had the instincts of the persecutor. More liberal views, we may assume, must have been cautiously expressed by his uncle, but the pleasure-loving character of this man may well have neutralised his intellectual influence. There is reason to believe, however, that Charles was in youth attracted towards the Reformed doctrines. Coligny's brother Andelot taunted him with this at the time of his own arrest for heresy, and some of the more bigoted Catholics suspected him till the end of his life as a secret Lutheran.² His steadfast patronage of Pierre Ramus—so honourable to both men—ceased only in the years before the St. Bartholomew. If any gleam of enthusiasm visited him at the College of Navarre, any ingenuous sympathy with the heroic early Protestant martyrs, it had, alas, been quenched effectively by the time of the coronation of Henry II. We cannot wonder that a modern French historian, confronted with the difficult problem of the Cardinal's religious opinions, should

¹ N. Weiss, *La Chambre Ardente*, p. iv.

² Brantôme, vol. iv. pp. 275-78.

His Views on Heresy

describe him as "a fanatic by profession, an unbeliever at heart."¹

A year before Queen Mary came to France, the brilliant uncle who was to exercise so great an influence in her training, appealed to Henry II. from the pulpit to extirpate the new religion. In his coronation sermon, the Archbishop of Rheims, who was about to be made a Cardinal, pronounced these memorable sentences: "By one man . . . not Germany and France alone, but almost all the universe has been shaken. If God had not provided for this evil through the intervention of princes, who does not see that there would have been an overturning of the greatest kingdoms and governments, and of all things in general? If there is corruption, let it be corrected by means of a general Council. If one member of the Church is decayed, let it be cut off so that the whole body may recover, but do not let us suppress everything, as some desire. I have dwelt on these things at all the greater length, because I think it belongs to thee alone, or almost alone, to cure all these wounds of the Church. Therefore act so that posterity shall say of thee: If Henry II., King of France, had not reigned, the Roman Church would have utterly perished,—and thou wilt do it if thou rememberest that nothing could be more pleasing to God. . . . And thus thou wilt become, not only King of France, but (as French monarchs alone can be) the priest, and as it were, the public servant of Almighty God."²

¹ Professor Lemonnier, in the Lavissee *History of France*, vol. v. part ii. p. 130.

² This extract is published in French by M. Weiss, in his valuable work, *La Chambre Ardente*, p. lxi. M. Weiss found it in the historical Fragments of Pierre Paschal, historiographer of Henry II.

The Cardinal of Lorraine

To this admonition the King replied, "I agree to all that thou hast said on the Government, on the King, on my ancestors, and on religion." The Cardinal then prayed that the new sovereign might defend the Church with zeal and courage against every assault of the wicked and unbelieving. The King was thus supported and encouraged by him in that policy of persecution which darkened French history for more than a century.

The earliest portrait of the Cardinal, painted in the coronation year, hangs in the Archbishop's palace at Rheims. Although the colours are much faded and the general effect is that of a dark, instead of a fair complexioned man, there is no doubt as to the genuineness of the work. The expression is enigmatic; suggesting, perhaps, the weariness and disillusionment of one whose intellect has been forced too early into a narrow groove. The biographer of Ramus says truly, "There is nothing in the face which wins our sympathy."¹ It is not from such a picture that we can form a true idea of the splendour and grace of his appearance—the commanding height, lofty forehead, sparkling blue eyes, which historians and ambassadors have described. Boucher, who was preceptor of the Princes of Lorraine, and knew the Cardinal intimately, speaks of his joyous and laughing air, and his habitual gaiety in company, though in private he had the downward look of a statesman intent on deep plans.

Michelet notes the less pleasing characteristics which are found in one of the contemporary crayon drawings. "The Cardinal, whose complexion is transparent, infinitely delicate, though quite the grand

¹ C. Waddington Kastus, *Pierre Ramus*, p. 300.

Venetian Estimates

seigneur,—evidently witty, eloquent, with fine, pale-grey cat-like eyes,—surprises us by the angry compression of the corner of his mouth, which we can see under his fair beard.”

The “mother-of-pearl complexion,” Michelet says elsewhere, was a point of resemblance between the Cardinal and his royal niece. We gather from poems of Ronsard and Michel de l’Hôpital that he was grey before the age of thirty.

The letters of the Venetian and Florentine ambassadors contain many estimates of the Cardinal’s character. The most frequently quoted accounts are those of Soranzo (1558) and Giovanni Michiel (1561). These can fortunately be supplemented from dispatches of an earlier date, which show how he was regarded by impartial foreign observers about the time of Queen Mary’s coming to France. Matteo Dandolo, writing to the Doge and Senate on December 17, 1547, says that although the Cardinal of Guise is still very young,¹ he is “the whole heart and soul of this King, as he of Lorraine [John] was of the other.”

Lorenzo Contarini, writing in 1551, mentions that the Cardinal leads “una vita onestissima.” “Although he is still young, and although some of the older Cardinals in France lead a most licentious life, he is always cautious in all his doings, for which he deserves to be highly praised.”²

The expression “egli va sempre riservato” re-

¹ “Il quale è molto giovane, sì che non ha ancora la barba.” Alberi, *Relazioni*, vol. ii. p. 176.

² Alberi, vol. iv. p. 76. “Tiene poi il Cardinale una vita onestissima, perocchè con tutto che sia giovine, e che gli altri Cardinali più vecchi assai siano licenziosissimi in Francia, egli va sempre riservato in tutte le sue operazioni ; per il che merita esser grandemente lodato.”

The Cardinal of Lorraine

minds us of the saying of Michiel that in his life, "so far as the outside is concerned,"¹ Charles observed the decorum which was suitable to his position. Possibly the ambassadors believed him to be a cautious voluptuary. They wished the Senate to understand, however, that in self-control and in devotion to public duty the youngest of the French Cardinals set an example to his brethren. Neither hawks nor hounds were to be found in his palace. Each year, as Easter approached, it was his custom to retire to a religious house and give himself up to spiritual exercises.

The Florentine Ricasoli, in a dispatch of December 14, 1547, speaks of his lofty virtue and his gracious manners. Supported as he is by his family connections and by the affection of the King, the greatest things may be expected from him; "he will soon rule France."²

The favourable judgment of Bishop Creighton is sustained, on the whole, by the diplomatic correspondence of the first years of Henry II.

The chief faults attributed to the Cardinal by foreign ambassadors, as the years went on, were falsehood, avarice, and cowardice. Ambitious and successful statesmen have, in all ages, seemed to their opponents monsters of perfidy and double dealing. Surian observes that in the art of dissimulation the Cardinal had no rival in the world.

The charge of avarice is somewhat discounted by the fact that he died deeply in debt, and that his

¹ "Di vita, quanto all' esteriore, molto onesta e conveniente al grado ch'ha, al contrario di quello si vede negli altri Cardinali e prelati di quel regno, licenziosissimi per natura." Tommaseo, *Relations des Ambassadeurs Vénitiens*, vol. i. p. 438.

² *Négociations de la France avec la Toscane*, vol. iii. p. 215.

His Lavish Expenditure

funeral was paid for by a loan from the citizens of Rheims. Keen as he was to acquire riches, he was unsuccessful in managing either his own financial affairs or those of his niece, Queen Mary. We may assume that greedy underlings drew rich pickings from his revenue. Brantôme tells us that when he congratulated Duke Henry of Guise on the supposed accession of wealth that had come to him with his uncle's death, the Duke replied that this was quite a mistake, and that the debts left him by his uncle were as heavy as those inherited from his father, Duke Francis.

What did the Cardinal do with his ample revenues ?

1. He kept up an army of couriers who brought him news from every part of Europe.¹

2. He spent with lavish generosity in his diocese of Rheims, draining the swamps round the city and cutting down the wood of his forest at Joinville for building purposes. By this means he gave employment to an army of workmen. Dom Marlot, the historian of Rheims, says he transformed the whole appearance of the city. He founded the University, a seminary and a convent, and joined with his mother in founding the hospital at Joinville. He entertained at his personal cost 2000 Catholic refugees from England and Ireland, paying the fees and board of promising students and helping the religious orders. One of the French doctors at Trent wrote to a friend that but for the Cardinal of Lorraine he and his companions would have starved. Of his gifts to Rheims Cathedral some remain to this day. With his sister, the Abbess Renée, he presented the great bell "Charlotte," on which are still inscribed their

¹ Brantôme, vol. iv. pp. 275, 276.

The Cardinal of Lorraine

names and titles. The finest pictures in the Cathedral, the "Nativity" by Tintoret and "Christ Washing the Disciples' Feet" by Mutiano, were given by him on his return from Italian journeys. It was said that he never visited Rheims without bringing a gift for his "bride."

3. His resources were freely drawn upon by other members of his family, especially for the expenses of the wars.

A blot upon the Cardinal's memory and one great reason for his unpopularity with the shopkeeping class in Paris was his neglect to pay off the enormous debts of his uncle John. His conduct in this matter is mentioned reproachfully by Claude de l'Aubespine, De Thou, Regnier de la Planche, and others. It is difficult to find an excuse for such dishonesty, save that ready money may not have been too plentiful in the family at the moment of his succession. Possibly Charles may have thought that his uncle's unbounded generosity to the people should have counterbalanced the heavy debts which were flung upon his own young shoulders. The refusal to satisfy the late Cardinal's tradesmen was, to put it on the lowest ground, the first of many acts of foolish and short-sighted policy by which he slowly undermined the fair fabric of his fortunes and drew upon himself the hatred of the masses.

The question of these debts is less simple than the anti-Guise historians would have us imagine. It was all-important that the Duke Francis should confirm and extend his father's popularity with the Parisians, and his shrewd, calculating intellect—so widely awake in the smallest monetary concerns—could hardly have acquiesced, without some plausible

Was he a Coward ?

reason, in the deliberate repudiation of family debts in Paris. His brother prostrated every gift of intellect, and, it must be confessed, every scruple of conscience, on the altar of the family greatness. Claude de l'Aubespine assures us that the Duke, in moments of irritation, uttered these words of the Cardinal: "That man will one day ruin us." What influence did he exercise over his young brother in this matter of their uncle's debts ?

Among the soldiers who surrounded Henry II., the charge of cowardice was whispered against the too-successful statesman. To modern readers it is clear that Charles was a coward in the same sense in which Hurree Babu, in *Kim*, was "a fearful man." The more fearful he was, the more "tight places" he got into. Churchmen, as well as soldiers, were expected to handle weapons in sixteenth-century warfare, and the Cardinal, at the end of a letter in which he has been giving military advice with his usual impulsive vehemence, confesses that "when all is said, that's not my business."¹

One of his numerous enemies, Claude de l'Aubespine, State Secretary under Henry II., draws a comic picture of his attitude on the bloody day of Renty.² His younger brother, Louis, Cardinal of Guise, was not thinking of his breviary, "but of how to strike a good blow." He was close to the King's side in the battle, wearing a rich coat of mail. The Cardinal of Lorraine was "in the midst of the baggage, among the mules." Instead of arms he wore a red velvet robe with a white cross, and was mounted on a grey

¹ *Mémoires-Journaux du Duc de Guise*, p. 234.

² *Histoire particulière de la Cour du Roy Henri II.* ("Archives curieuses," Series I, vol. iii.).

The Cardinal of Lorraine

mare, "that he might fight with the spurs, if it became necessary to fly."

The danger which soldiers encountered on the battlefield at rare intervals menaced the Cardinal at all hours during his anxious career. He believed, and with good reason, that he was a mark for the assassin's dagger. Yet he was ever in the forefront of the ecclesiastical conflict.

He might have lived to old age as the Mæcnas of men of letters, bringing scholars from all parts of Europe to adorn his University of Rheims, winning, like the Bishop of Valence, the renown of a popular Catholic preacher, while by sympathetic generalities he conciliated the Huguenots. He might have shared the learned leisure of the Cardinal Odet de Châtillon, who was in the fierce conflicts of the age, but not of them, and who understood the art of graceful withdrawal. The Cardinal of Lorraine, through all his public life, was a strenuous worker and fighter, skilled in the use of every weapon save the sword and musket.

The more amiable qualities of the man are unveiled in his private correspondence. He was one of the best letter-writers of the age, and his pen was seldom idle. Many of his dictated or autograph notes are the mere formal dispatches of the busy statesman, who is fain to confess himself too tired to write at length. In others we recognise some personal characteristic—his affection for his elder brother, his playful fondness for children. Henry of Guise is described to his father at the wars as "the prettiest little creature ever seen." Not less conspicuous is the family pride which was part of the Cardinal's religion. When Guise's eldest daughter was born,

His Moral Character

he regrets it was not a boy ; but “ please God, this little girl will some day bring us a good alliance.” Already he has had offers of brilliant matches for her. Old Madame de Montpensier proposes her son, with thirty thousand livres of income, unburdened by any allowance to his sisters. “ He is handsome, well-born and healthy.” Another great lady had spoken of writing to the Duchess of Guise, and the Duke of Nevers would be likely to put in his claim. “ Thus, if we play our parts skilfully, we shall have a choice of husbands, and we shall have time enough to consider the matter well.”

A passage in the same letter shows that he recognised the danger from his own hasty temper, easily uplifted and easily cast down. “ I control myself well with everybody, and there is no squabbling. Our master treats me better than ever he did.” A note of heady exaltation runs through some of his correspondence. All is going successfully, brilliantly ; the Lorrainers touch the height of joy and splendour. Often as he must have preached on the futility of mortal hopes, he builds on his brother Francis as on a rock-foundation. The death of the Duke, by the hand of Poltrot de Méré, was in a sense the death of the Cardinal also. Never again do we catch in his letters the same note of infatuated confidence.

The Cardinal’s moral character may not have been, as Dr. Creighton suggests, altogether “ stainless,” though it compared well with that of other highly placed ecclesiastics of the period. Little importance need be attached to the libels of anonymous pamphleteers on the Huguenot side. There is, however, one curious circumstance of his private life which is

The Cardinal of Lorraine

fairly well attested by history. Writers who have praised his paternal devotion to his niece Queen Mary forget to mention that he was in all probability the father of a little girl, who may have been five or six years younger than the Queen. Anne d'Arne, who was sent to Spain in 1559 to be brought up in the Court of Elizabeth of Valois, was understood to be the Cardinal's daughter. The most important reference to her is contained in a letter from the diplomatist Lansac to the Cardinal, dated from Tudela, January 15, 1560.¹ "Monseigneur," he says, "I see habitually in this company Mademoiselle Darne, who is very pretty, good and graceful: and as I have heard that you do her the honour to acknowledge that she belongs to you in some way, I have offered to do her service, as I will wherever I have the power, if only the power is not wanting. Here, at least, I will help her with counsel and information, as if she were my own daughter. This is in your honour, to whom I desire to render very humble service, etc." ²

Brantôme, in his chapter on Coligny,³ mentions that Anne d'Arne was the Cardinal's daughter, and adds, though vaguely, that he could give the name of her mother. Nothing further is known as to the Archbishop's early love-affair. Anne d'Arne was given in marriage to the scoundrel Besme, the murderer of Coligny. On the day after Charles's death at Avignon (December 26, 1574), the Cardinal

¹ *Négociations sous François II.*, p. 178.

² The editor of the *Négociations*, M. Paris, says in a note: "I have not been able to discover any particulars about this young person, in whom the Cardinal took so keen an interest. The field of conjecture is therefore left free as far as she is concerned."

³ Vol. iv. p. 309.

His Love of Children

Louis wrote to Philip II. that he was sending Besme to the Court and hoped that the King would pay the money which had been promised to his wife Anne at the time of the marriage.¹ Brantôme mentions that after the death of Queen Elizabeth of Spain, Anne d'Arne returned to France, and lived with the Queen Mother.²

Other children with whom the Cardinal was closely associated were the young Duke of Longueville, Mary's half-brother, whose education he superintended; and his nephew Francis, son of the Duke of Guise, whom he began to train as his successor at Rheims. The death of this promising boy was one of the heaviest sorrows of his closing years.

Henry of Guise wrote to his father in 1557: "I have heard some fine sermons from my uncle at Rheims, but I promise you I could not repeat them in full, for they were so very long that I don't remember the half of them. He made me carry his amice before him, and asked me if I would not like to be a Canon at Rheims, but I replied that I had rather be with you, that I might break a lance or a sword on some brave Spaniard or Burgundian, so as to see if I have a good arm: for I like fencing and lance-breaking better than being always shut up in an abbey in the monk's gown."

The Cardinal's personal care of his royal niece began about the year 1552, when she was ten and he was twenty-seven. He acted on state occasions as her "gouvernante," chaperoning her at entertainments given by the citizens of Paris to the royal

¹ René de Bouillé, vol. ii. p. 505. Besme perished miserably in 1575.

² Vol. iv. p. 309.

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family.¹ Many eyes must have watched with pleasure as the child Queen, in her dress of stiff silk encrusted with jewels, and with a mask half concealing her fair features, walked by the side of the tall Churchman in his scarlet robes.

¹ René de Bouillé, vol. i. p. 206.



Mary Stuart aged nine
From a drawing by Jacques Gheuck at Chantilly

CHAPTER V

THE EDUCATION OF MARY AND FRANCIS

Training of the Queen of Scots—Her love of music—Her skill in dancing and in needlework—Her Latin themes—Her Latin address before the Court—Religious instruction—Occultism at Court—Mary's generosity—Early portraits of the royal children—Letter of the Cardinal of Lorraine to his sister—His plans for Mary's household—War with Charles v.—The siege of Metz—The spread of heresy—The Queen in 1553—Her health and the Dauphin's—Mary becomes mistress of her own establishment at the age of twelve—Mary of Lorraine regent of Scotland—Letters of 1554.

THE Queen of Scots was carefully trained in the courtly accomplishments of the time. The love of music was a taste which she shared with all the members of her mother's family, and especially with her grandfather, Duke Claude, and her uncle Francis. The Cardinal's voice was often raised in the psalms and anthems of Rheims Cathedral. When the Guise brothers were exiled from Court, they divided the days at their country houses between hunting and music. Brantôme tells us that Mary "sang very well, attuning her voice to the lute, which she played very prettily with that fair white hand of hers, and those well-shaped fingers, which were lovely as the fingers of Aurora."

Conaëus says that "in the excellence of her singing, she profited greatly by a certain natural—not acquired—modulation of her voice. She played well on the cittern, the harp and the harpsichord as they call it.

The Education of Mary and Francis

She danced excellently to music on account of her wonderful agility of body, but yet gracefully and becomingly, for by quiet and gentle motion of her limbs she could express any harmony of the strings."

According to Conaeus, Mary "devoted great attention to acquiring some of the best languages of Europe, and such was the sweetness of her French that she was considered eloquent in it, in the judgment of the most learned. Nor did she neglect Spanish or Italian, which she employed more for use than for show or lively talk. She understood Latin better than she could speak it."¹

In needlework also Mary was taught with so much care and skill that the exercise of this womanly art became to her no mere task, but a pleasure and recreation for the rest of her life. Gloomy prison hours in England were shortened by the pastime of embroidery, and she must often have thought lovingly of the early instructors who foresaw that she might one day require a diversion from literary and political occupations. Sir Walter Scott, in *The Abbot*, pictures her as working with her ladies at "those pieces of needlework, many of which still remain proofs of her indefatigable application." At the age of eleven she had learned the art of knitting, and wool for this purpose is entered among her expenses.²

In her twelfth and thirteenth years Mary wrote the sixty-four short Latin themes which are preserved in a morocco-bound exercise-book in the National

¹ See Dr. Hay Fleming's *Mary Queen of Scots*, notes on chap. ii. pp. 202, 203.

² A. de Ruble, *La Première Jeunesse*, p. 40.

Mary's Latin Themes

Library in Paris.¹ The original French themes, set by M. de Saint-Estienne or some other tutor of the princesses, have been inserted, with a few omissions, on the left-hand page. The French is much less legible to a modern reader than the Latin on the right-hand page, and it may be remarked, as a general rule, that the best sixteenth-century handwriting is that of the children. There are eighty-six pages in the volume. The greater number of the exercises are addressed in the form of letters to Mary's closest companion, the Princess Elizabeth, with whose name that of the Princess Claude is more than once joined. Two letters are for the Cardinal of Lorraine and two for the Dauphin.² No. 24, which was meant for the Cardinal's eye, begins with the sentence: "Many people in these days, my uncle, fall into errors in the Holy Scriptures, because they do not read them with a pure and clean heart."

In this letter we may suppose that the little Queen had been trying to write with special care, and the result is that the corrections and small slips are more numerous than usual.

The Dauphin's dislike for lessons was well known, and his preceptors may have sought to encourage him to work by a letter from Mary, in which the words occur: "Love learning, most illustrious prince."³

¹ This small red volume belongs to "la réserve" of the MSS department. Attention was first called to it by M. Ludovic Lalanne, the learned editor of Brantôme. It was printed, with an interesting introduction, by M. Anatole de Montaiglou, for the Warton Club in 1855. These short Latin exercises, in the little girl's handwriting, are the most precious relic of the Queen's childhood.

² M. de Montaiglou, and Father Stevenson, following him, are mistaken in saying that Nos. 23 and 24, which have the heading "M. Sc. R. Avunculo a Lotharingia S.P.D.," are intended for the Duke of Guise.

³ "Ama igitur literas, princeps illustrissime."

The Education of Mary and Francis

The Queen signs her name to the first exercise in capital letters and in a single line—

MARIA SCOTORUM REGINA.

The corrections are comparatively few ; the words in some places have a tendency to run into each other. The paper is not ruled, though faint lines may possibly have been drawn and wiped out. There is no trace of this, but the lines are very regular. The headings are extremely interesting. The words, “Ma sœur, ma mignonne,” are translated “Soror integerrima.” Did the Queen, we wonder, invent for herself such inscriptions as “Suavissimæ sorori” ? She seldom inserts the names of places, though occasionally the date.

Some of these childish exercises have a gleam of human interest, notwithstanding the schoolroom stiffness of expression. “I am going to the park to rest my mind a little.” “The King has given me leave to take a deer in the park with Madame de Castres, so I have no time to write you a longer letter.” “The Queen has forbidden me to go to see you, my sister, because she thinks you have measles, for which I am very sorry.” The delicacy of Elizabeth is hinted at in several of the letters. The only trouble of her own that Mary mentions is toothache.

The names of Plato, Plutarch, and Cicero are frequently quoted. The references to Erasmus prove that the *Colloquia* must have been well known to the princesses. Fifteen letters are filled with the names of learned women and girls. One very unexpected personage, John Calvin, is found among the correspondents. The eighteenth theme is addressed to the Reformer, and it has been conjectured that as an

Mary's Letter to Calvin

edition of the *Institutes* was published in Paris in 1553 by Robert Etienne, Calvin's writings may have been often mentioned at Court, and even in the children's hearing. There is no reason to suppose that the letter was forwarded. Calvin is informed that Socrates, Plato, and other heathen philosophers had knowledge of purgatory, which he denied, miserably and to his own hurt, though living under the law of grace. "May Christ, the Son of God, recall thee, Calvin!" One can hardly read these words, traced by the young girl's hand, "Christus filius Dei te avocet, Calvine,"¹ without remembering what Calvin wrote on hearing of the death of Mary's husband, Francis: "He who had pierced the father's eye struck the ear of the son."

These exercises may have been intended, M. de Montaignon thinks, as a preparatory coaching for the Latin speech which Mary delivered, early in 1555, before the King, the Queen, and all the Court, in the great hall of the Louvre.² Her themes are much occupied with the achievements of learned ladies, and in the oration she argued, in opposition to a widespread opinion of the day, that a knowledge of letters and the liberal arts was suitable and becoming for women.

"Only think," writes Brantôme, "what a rare and wonderful thing it was to see that learned and beautiful Queen declaiming thus in Latin, which she

¹ The letter ends: "Christus filius Dei te avocet, Calvine, interim cura ut recte et pie sapias." The words from "interim" are not in the French.

² The Cardinal of Lorraine, in his letter to his sister of Feb. 25, 1553, mentions another speech which his niece, then aged ten, had made before the King: "Ce porteur vous dira la harangue que la Royne vostre fille fist au Roy" (Labanoff, *Recueil*, vol. i. p. 16).

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understood and spoke very well; for I have seen her do it. . . . It was a pleasure to watch her talking, whether to the greatest or to the humblest; and all the time she was in France, she set apart two hours a day regularly for study and reading: there was hardly any branch of human knowledge, indeed, of which she could not talk well. Above all, she loved poetry and poets, but especially M. de Ronsard, M. du Bellay, and M. de Maison Fleur, who wrote charming poems and elegies for her, including those on her departure from France, which I have often seen her reading to herself in France and in Scotland, with tears in her eyes and sighs in her heart.”¹

Brantôme notes that the Scottish tongue, which in itself “is very rude and barbaric,” was spoken with such charm by the Queen, and the words so prettily pronounced, that in her it seemed beautiful and pleasant, but not in others. He admired the grace with which she wore the Highland costume—“the barbaric fashion of the savages of her country.” “Her mortal form, in this rude and coarse dress, appeared like that of a very goddess.” We can imagine indeed that in the tartan Mary, as she grew towards womanhood, may have looked like a youthful image of Diana the Huntress. The King and Queen thought this dress more becoming to her than any of her rich robes of state.

Religious teaching, as we may gather from the Latin themes, was never neglected in the royal nursery. On September 14 (1554), Mary reminds her correspondent that “this is the festival of the Holy Cross, on which for our salvation hung Jesus

¹ Vol. vii. p. 406. Joachim du Bellay died at the beginning of 1560.

Religious Instruction

Christ, the eternal Son of the eternal Father." Mary of Lorraine had stipulated that her daughter should be present every day at Mass. Baron de Ruble mentions that during the long sojourn of the children at Blois in 1551 Mary was taken to three different churches, and that her chaplain, Guillaume de Laon, carried the Queen's sacred vessels with him from one to the other.

It has been assumed too hastily that with the Cardinal of Lorraine religious instruction was pure formalism. The student of this great Churchman's career must often be tempted to think of him as a sixteenth-century Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, or to discern his inner being as "a mere polity of multifarious, incongruous, and independent denizens." But there is a curious sentence introduced, all unconsciously, by Brantôme, in his biography of Charles ix., which proves that the Cardinal, who knew his Bible from the days when he studied under Jean Hennuyer, sought to give his royal pupils some glimpses of its deeper meaning. Brantôme says that M. Amyot, the preceptor of Charles ix., was accustomed, after the King had kissed the Gospel, according to royal custom, during the Mass, to take the book, sit down beside the boy King, and read the sacred words to him with explanatory remarks. "It was the Cardinal of Lorraine," says Brantôme, "who began this practice with the late King Francis. I have seen him do it, and several others with me." ¹

Superstition lived in the Court of Henry II. side by side with devout religious observance. The horoscopes of the royal children were taken by Nostradamus, the most famous soothsayer of the

¹ Vol. v. p. 284.

The Education of Mary and Francis

period. He prophesied that the infant Prince Louis who died at the age of two, should enjoy a long and prosperous career. When the future Charles IX. was born, Nostradamus announced that he would be great, valiant, and fortunate ruler, whose glory would equal that of Charlemagne.¹

Henry II. was less addicted to occult studies than his wife Catherine. Sir James Melville relates a curious instance of attempted necromancy at the French Court. His patron, Bishop Montluc, wished to be initiated into the "art of matématique," and sought out an expert named Cavatius, who informed him, after frequent conference, that two familiar spirits were in Paris, waiting upon an old shepherd who in his youth had served a priest, by whom the spirits were bequeathed to him. The Bishop proposed to bring Cavatius to Henry II., and the sage offered to lose his head if he failed to show the two spirits to his Majesty, or to any that he would send, in the form of men, dogs, or cats. "But the King caused burn the shepherd," writes Melville, "and imprison the said Cavatius and would not see the said spirits." Another occult scholar mentioned by Melville was a palmist, who announced that he would die before the age of twenty-eight. He went to Lausanne and died as he had prophesied.

Generosity was one of Queen Mary's most endearing qualities. As a child she begged her mother that the wages of her servants might be raised.² Sir James Melville says, writing of the Queen in 1564, "Sch was naturally liberall, mair than sche had moyen."

¹ Dumas says, in *L'Horoscope*, that there were 30,000 "sorciers" in Paris in 1559.

² Labanoff, *Recueil*, vol. i. p. 7.

³ *Memoirs*, p. 111.

Lost Portraits of Mary

Many at the French Court could have endorsed Melville's testimony, "Sche was sa effable, sa gracious and discret that she wan gret estymation, and the hartis of many, baith in England and Scotland, and myn amang the rest, sa that I thocht her mair worthy to be servit for little proffet then any uther prence in Europe for gret commodite."

Many portraits, which have long perished, must have been made of the child Queen. Catherine de' Medici wrote to Madame d'Humières that she wished to have her children painted,¹ "both boys and girls, with the Queen of Scotland, just as they are, not forgetting any feature of their faces. Crayon portraits will do, as I want them quickly made. Send them to me as soon as you can."

Catherine again wrote :² "Madame d'Humières, from your letter of the 13th of this month I learn how busy the painter is in making the portraits of my daughter, the Queen of Scotland, and my sons and daughters." She asked that the pictures should be sent as soon as possible to Châlons. Germain le Monnier was the painter appointed by Henry II. in 1547 for the royal nursery, and Catherine had probably her favourite Italian artists. She complained, however, that the children's features were not caught, especially in profile,³ and wished for full-face likenesses.

Catherine's letters, at this period, were chiefly

¹ *Lettres de Cathérine de Médicis*, vol. i. p. 18. The letter is dated June 1, 1552.

² Letter of June 18, 1552.

³ M. de Ruble mentions the surprising fact that Catherine seems to have employed no painter of European celebrity. The names given in her accounts are those of Saget, Tibergeau, Scipion, Portat, and Lucas, who were unknown men (*La Première Jeunesse*, pp. 80, 81).

The Education of Mary and Francis

occupied with the dress, the state of health, the changes of residence, of her children. In May 1552 they were taken to Amboise, as plague had broken out in the neighbourhood of Blois, and the Queen exchanged letters with Madame d'Humières on the sanative qualities of Amboise air. Hardly three months passed without one or another of the nurslings being in bed from illness. The Queen, Diane de Poitiers, and Madame d'Humières were occupied in finding a wet-nurse for the future Charles ix. The Princess Claude was worried with a cough, and Diane wrote to the mistress of the children's household: "I will trust in your opinion rather than in that of the doctors, especially in view of the many children you have had."¹ At other times complaint is made that Madame d'Humières did not immediately obey the Queen's instructions. Henry II. and Catherine de' Medici kept vigilant watch over the material welfare of all their little ones, including their daughter of Scotland.

The fullest information with regard to Mary's life at the French Court is supplied in letters written by the Cardinal of Lorraine to his sister, the Queen Dowager. In the first, dated from Saint-Germain on February 25, 1552-53, the Cardinal says he had gone with the King to Amboise, as his Majesty wished to see the Dauphin, his other children, and the Queen of Scotland.²

"The Lady, your daughter, has so grown and is growing every day in stature, goodness, beauty,

¹ G. Guiffrey, *Lettres de Dianne de Poytiers*, p. 83. Letter of May 11, 1551. Madame d'Humières had eighteen children.

² Labanoff, *Recueil*, vol. i. pp. 9, 10.

The Cardinal's Letters

wisdom, and virtues that she is as perfect and accomplished in all things honest and virtuous as it is possible for her to be. There is no one like her to be found in this kingdom, either among noble ladies or others, whether of low degree or middle station. I must tell you, Madame, that the King has taken such a liking for her that he amuses himself in chatting with her for an hour at a time, and she is as well able to entertain him with good and sensible talk as if she were a woman of five-and-twenty."

The Cardinal goes on to mention that the King has given the Dauphin a separate establishment, with M. d'Urfé as his Governor.

"The Queen," he says, "is taking her two daughters with her, and is not giving them a separate household. She has decided that they shall sleep in her dressing-room, or in another room as near as possible to her own. They are to have no one with them except Madame d'Humières and their waiting-women. The said Lady [Catherine de' Medici] declares that while she lives, and until her daughters are married, no one shall have control over them except herself. For that reason she prefers that they shall have no separate establishment, and that their ladies shall be those who attend on her. This (as she believes) is the best way to keep them in fear and obedience, for she says that when separate households were formerly given to the daughters of France, the reason was that they had lost their mothers. I agree with her on this point, and I think, Madame, that you should imitate her example, and allow no one except yourself, or those to whom you delegate your authority, to have control over your daughter. Keep a tight hand, I entreat you, in this matter, and so you will always have more power over her. Knowing her virtues as I do, however, I can assure you that she will always yield you the fullest obedience."¹

¹ Labanoff, *Recueil*, vol. i. pp. 10, 11.

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"She is coming hither [to Saint-Germain] with the Princes and Princesses, and is bringing her train with all her wonted retinue. You must now consider what state you would like her to hold. In order to give you some guidance and suggestion, I have had a list drawn up of all the people who are with her, and of the increase that seems necessary, and of her probable yearly expenditure. I send you this list, and in each article of it I have noted with my hand what, in my opinion, ought to be done in this matter. Will you come to a decision on these points, and let me know your good pleasure, so that it may be followed, and your commands obeyed. I think that in the list as it stands there is nothing either superfluous or mean; (meanness is the thing she hates most in this world). Her spirit, I assure you, Madame, is already so high and noble that she lets her annoyance be very plainly seen because she is thus unworthily treated. She wants to be out of tutelage and to exercise her independent authority. If you think, Madame, that the scheme I have drawn up is not on a scale sufficiently liberal for her rank and quality, you can enlarge and increase it according to your discretion. You must, at the same time, give instructions with regard to the expenditure, and see how the money is to be provided, so that there should be no arrears. You must not expect or hope for any help from this side, because the King says that the revenue of the realm is very small, and so he cannot support her. And if in future the King grants a subsidy for the fortifications in Scotland, he will have to make corresponding deductions from her expenses here in France."

The amount proposed in the budget revised by the Queen's uncle was 50,000 to 60,000 francs.

The Cardinal, who was a connoisseur in precious stones, must have had a casket containing some of his sister's jewellery in keeping, for he suggests that

Keeping Political Secrets

he should lend some of the Queen Dowager's ornaments to his niece for state toilets. "If you will also grant her some of those you have, as you were good enough to promise us, we shall be able to make her look very pretty when need arises."

In an autograph postscript he says it will be a joy to him to serve both mother and daughter. "I shall always attend to your instructions and see them carried out, and I hope to manage so well that you will be satisfied. Only I do want you to feel assured, Madame, that you have the best of daughters and that her upbringing is in all respects excellent."

From her nursery days Queen Mary learned how to keep political secrets, and a reference in one of her letters shows that her mother had praised her caution.¹ "I can assure you, Madame," writes the child, "that nothing which comes from you shall be known through me." To her uncles she showed, in confidence, the letters she received and sent.² The years following the Queen Dowager's departure were so full of stirring events for France that the youngest child in the royal household must have heard echoes of battles and sieges. The Peace of Boulogne was a preliminary to long warfare between Henry II. and the house of Austria. England was conciliated in order that France might be free to attack the Emperor Charles V. Negotiations were opened with the Lutheran princes of Germany, who sent an embassy to Henry, asking aid against the Emperor, as he wished to enslave the German people for ever. At Chambord (January 15, 1552) the King signed a treaty with the Confederate princes, agreeing to help them with money, while they permitted him to seize

¹ Labanoff, *Recueil*, vol. i. pp. 5, 6.

² *Ibid.* pp. 6, 7.

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the "three bishoprics" of Metz, Toul, and Verdun. War broke out in the spring, and on April 10 the French entered Toul, while the Constable took possession of Metz. Henry II. pushed on to Nancy, where he proclaimed himself the protector of the young Duke of Lorraine. It is a proof of the influence of the Guises that Henry did not dare, at this time, to annex Lorraine to the crown of France. He sent the boy Duke to Court, and installed the Comte de Vaudemont as Regent of the Duchy.

During the summer Charles v. prepared a powerful force, including bands of veterans from Italy, his immediate object being to dispute with France the possession of Metz. In August Francis of Guise arrived in the city and began to organise the defence. The great opportunity of his life had come, and he used it with consummate wisdom. The flower of the French nobility, not yet broken by the cruel religious divisions, rallied to his support. Coligny wrote to him (October 15): "I could wish nothing better than to be near, if the Emperor comes to besiege you. For though you have many honest fellows with you, yet would I boast that my men would be none the worse for having me with them." Among the volunteers at Metz were three princes of the blood royal. The proudest gentlemen worked under the Duke's orders as willingly as the privates. "Tell the Constable," wrote Guise to the Cardinal, "that his children are well, and that Damville knows how to carry the hod better than he knows how to write."

Solicitude for the safety of the Duke and his gallant comrades is apparent in the letters of the autumn. "You have a brother who cannot be at rest till he

The Duke of Guise at Metz

sees a happy issue," wrote the Cardinal. "I have felt more anxiety this time than ever I did before. I hope that God will soon lift the burden from me and save you from all danger. . . . Your little son is well and prays to God for you." ¹

The pinch of famine was not seriously felt in Metz, though in December fresh meat was becoming scarce. The Duke had made his preparations early and thoroughly. Shortly before the end of the siege he was able to announce that the salt meat would last till Lent, and that afterwards there would be bread and wine enough till Whitsuntide. On December 26 the besieging army began its retreat, and the Emperor withdrew on January 1, 1553.

The Duke of Guise had shown during the siege the qualities of a strategist and a born leader of gentlemen. The humanity with which he treated the sick and starving derelicts of the opposing army was the theme of universal praise. It is impossible to read the contemporary descriptions of the siege without feeling that he was one of the greatest soldiers who ever served France. It was true of the Guises as of Wallenstein that the night brought out their star. The Duke and the Cardinal had given of their private fortune freely for the victualling of the army. The Duke seems to have known by instinct the rules of modern warfare. It was an age of pillage, but he insisted that the peasants should be paid a fair price for the food they brought. Though a biographer tells us that it was his custom in time of peace to sleep long and deeply, he grudged himself every hour of rest during the siege, laboured side by side with the humblest soldiers, and cheered the weary men

¹ *Mémoires-Journaux du Duc de Guise*, p. 138.

The Education of Mary and Francis

with words of courage. His dinner was often taken to him on the ramparts, as he would not waste time in going to and from his house. "The Cardinal," writes M. Forneron, who in common with most historians, takes an unfavourable view of the prelate's character, "shared the passion of his brother with all the ardour of his heady temperament." His one thought was how he could help the Duke and save Metz. "He was busy every moment in suggesting ideas to the King, in proposing a sudden attack on the assailants, and (a remarkable precaution which reveals the party leader hidden under the courtier's robe) in recommending to the King the gentlemen whom his brother had mentioned for distinguished service in the sorties; in naming the wounded and asking that his own partisans might obtain the offices once held by the dead."

Sir William Pickering mentioned that on Wednesday, the 8th of February, "M. de Guise, accompanied by the princes and gentlemen who had been at Metz, came to the Court, where there was such joy and feasting for the two days following as for that time almost nothing else was minded."¹

Mary of Guise wrote, on February 20, to the Duke² that he had great cause to thank God and to acknowledge His grace. "I am sure you have not forgotten Him. I wish I could have taken a leap, so as to have my share in the happiness which your return has brought."

Henry II. greeted the brave Balafré with the words, "You have conquered me as well as the Emperor by the obligation under which you have

¹ *Foreign Calendar*, "Edward VI.," p. 245.

² *Mémoires-Journaux du Duc de Guise*, p. 167.

The Cardinal Louis of Guise

laid me." Guise received the thanks of the Parlement of Paris, and public rejoicings were held in many parts of the kingdom. He had rolled back the tide of war from the frontiers, for the campaigns of the next two years were languidly conducted on both sides.¹

The happiness of the Guises was enhanced by the promotion of the fourth of the brothers, Louis, to the rank of Cardinal. In a letter to the Duke, Louis told how the King himself had changed his black biretta for a red one.

There is not a word of religious feeling in the letter in which the youthful Cardinal of Guise informed the head of the family of his new honours. He was destined to outlive all his brothers, and Brantôme says that his powers developed late. He does not appear to have exercised any influence, for good or for evil, on the early life of the Scottish Queen.

The Reformed religion was spreading at the French Court about the time of the siege of Metz. The Duke of Guise had made a bonfire of all the heretical books he could find in that city, though he did not ask for the names of heretics. While eager to suppress the new faith, Henry II. was in a difficult position, and the diplomatic correspondence of the time reflects his embarrassments. He had allied himself with the Protestants of Germany and with Edward VI., while at home he was the persecutor of the Huguenots. Sir William Pickering wrote (February 1553) that men of learning and reputation came to him almost

¹ The outstanding incidents were the sack of Théroutanne and Hesdin by the Imperial troops and the victory of the French at Renty in August 1554.

The Education of Mary and Francis

daily, who were "great and earnest favourers of God's Word." He knew at least fifteen who would in a few days be in England for fear of the faggot. Sir William also reported that certain ladies of the Court had of late kept a communion among themselves, "but not so secretly that the thing was not discovered, wherewith the King is much offended." The Marshal Saint-André's wife was the leader of this little band of devout ladies. "These matters," said Pickering, "are marvellously sown abroad throughout all this country."¹ The Constable Montmorency had a troublesome part to play between his narrow-minded and bigoted sovereign and his friends across the Channel. Pickering complained to him that a Jacobin friar had denounced the King of England in a sermon as a heretic, and as likely to prove false to the French King as he had been false to his God. He further said that by his heresy and infidelity Edward had lost the power of working such miracles as the cure of the falling sickness. The Constable promised that the friar should be severely and promptly punished, but after a few weeks Pickering found that he was still preaching. He again remonstrated with the Constable, but was put off on the plea of lack of evidence against "a sober man and one of the most virtuous preachers in France."²

The Queen of Scots was kept out of the way of heretical teaching, and her devoutness in religion is mentioned with commendation by the Cardinal. Pickering saw her during the festival of St. George at Poissy in 1553, when she attended the service of the Order of the Garter along with the other royal children. On St. Mark's Day, the Constable presented the

¹ *Foreign Calendar*, "Edward VI." p. 250. ² *Ibid.* pp. 238, 258.

The Health of Mary

English Ambassador to the Dauphin, who is described as "of handsome stature and better liking than his late sickness doth well suffer him to be." The Dauphin's name is hardly ever mentioned in these years without some reference to his ill-health, but Mary suffered only from occasional attacks of faintness brought on by too hearty eating. The Cardinal, in reporting this to her mother, promised to look more carefully to her dietary.¹ A record of August 1556² informs us that he was called one night to go to his niece, who was suffering from indigestion, caused by eating too much melon. No care was too trifling for the Primate of France to undertake on the child's behalf. Every month it was his custom to go through her establishment, "so as to find out in detail all that is going on." We can picture the statesman peeping into drawers and cupboards, lecturing the servants on their duties and warning them that no stranger must enter the household.

At the beginning of 1554 Queen Mary became mistress of her own establishment, and entertained the Cardinal to supper as her first guest.³ On April 12 of the same year Mary of Lorraine was proclaimed Regent of Scotland in place of Châtelherault. In John Knox's opinion, she was very ill fitted for such a position. To put a crown on her head was, in the Reformer's language, as seemly a sight (if men had eyes) as to put a saddle on the back of an unruly cow. Knox considered that Arran had been deposed "justly by God but most unjustly

¹ Labanoff, *Recueil*, vol. i. p. 21.

² Quoted by René de Bouillé, *Les Ducs de Guise*, vol. i. p. 206.

³ Labanoff, vol. i. p. 18.

The Education of Mary and Francis

by men.¹ “And so began she,” writes Knox, “to practise practise upon practise, how France mycht be advanced, hir freindis maid riche and sche brought to immortall glorie ; for that was hir commoun talk, ‘So that I may procure the wealth and honour of my freindis and a good fame unto myself I regard nott what God do after with me.’ And in verray deid in deap dissimulatioun, to bring her awin purpose to effect, sche passed the commoun sorte of women, as we will after heare. Butt yit God, to whose Evangell she declared hir self ennemye, in the end frustrat hir of all hir devises.”²

In these sentences Knox indicates but too truly the fatal blot on the Regent’s administration, her attempt to govern Scotland by Frenchmen. Her chief adviser was M. d’Oysel, whom Pitscottie describes as “a man of singular good judgment, great experience, especially in warfare.” M. d’Oysel possessed the Regent’s full confidence, and may have suggested most of the other French appointments, which excited the jealous rage of the Scottish nobles.

We may introduce at this point a few extracts from letters written by the Cardinal Charles and the Duke Francis in 1554. Writing on February 20 (1553-54) from Fontainebleau, the Cardinal informed his sister that Mary had been suffering during the last few days from toothache, which had caused her cheek to swell slightly.³ “On this account she was obliged to stay behind us three or four days in Paris, until the pain was over. She is coming here to-day,

¹ Laing’s *Knox*, vol. i. p. 242.

² *Ibid.*

³ Balcanes Papers, vol. ii. No. 143.

The Regent of Scotland

and her health, thank God, is as good as ever it was.¹ For the rest, Madame, she is increasing so much every day in goodness and beauty that I could not tell you how much satisfaction she gives to every one."

The Duke of Guise in a letter dated from Paris on April 17, expressed satisfaction that the Scottish nobility were willing to serve the King (Henry II.) and his niece. He added: "I am sure that for this she feels herself not a little bound and obliged to you. And although her age does not permit of her understanding great matters for the present, still she knows even now that she owes these good things to you alone."²

The Duke's next letter, written on May 28, was dictated from a sick-bed, and its chief purpose was to inform his sister of the approaching departure of the army. "We are actually beginning to-day to say good-bye to the ladies, hoping that we shall not return from this journey without changing the plans of our enemy."

Francis congratulated his sister on her accession to the Regency of Scotland. ". . . I know you are a lady fit to govern the kingdom and to give order to all things not only in peace but in war, and to make provision for them as you have well and wisely done in the past."³ After further compliments and the assurance that he knew his sister could carry on war as well as he could himself, the Duke informed her that her daughter was growing every day in beauty and goodness, "so that we all feel that she does us honour." "I will say nothing about the great satisfaction which

¹ The consideration shown by the Cardinal for his sister's feelings is very noticeable in all his references to her daughter's health. He never, if possible, informs her of even the smallest trouble until he is able to add that the trouble is over.

² Balcarres Papers, vol. ii. No. 95.

³ *Ibid.* No. 96.

The Education of Mary and Francis

the King finds in her, and in what you have done for the said Queen, your daughter. I leave the King himself to write to you about this, and my brother the Cardinal is writing to you also."

After the battle of Renty, Francis wrote (August 19, 1554), praising the courage shown by his younger brothers, the Duke of Aumale, the Marquis of Elbœuf, and the Grand Prior, "who fought so well and so bravely in the contest as to give proof that they came of good stock. Many captains and gentlemen who saw them can confirm my testimony." ¹

Had the Duke, we cannot help wondering, heard the camp rumours as to the shelter sought by the Cardinal Charles amongst the mules, and of his readiness to "fight with spurs" if the French troops were routed? He is silent, not only on this story, but on the supposed valour of the Cardinal Louis, on the bloody day of Renty. Possibly the explanation may be that while he gloried in the prowess of the Grand Prior, he thought that Cardinals were better occupied with their breviaries than in following the troops.

¹ Balcarres Papers, vol. ii. No. 97.

CHAPTER VI

THE DAWN OF WOMANHOOD

Open-air amusements of the Court in Mary's girlhood—Tournaments and hunting—Mary at Meudon—Her first Communion—Baptism of her cousin Charles—Training of the Duke of Guise's children—The daily life at Court—A Venetian's praise of Mary—Madame de Paroy, the Queen's governess—Quarrels with her pupil—Relations of Mary with Diane de Poitiers—Serious illness of the Scottish Queen—Letters of the Cardinal and Mary of Lorraine—Political events between 1554 and 1558.

As in all transition reigns, the imitative spirit governed the Court of Henry II. Men's thoughts were stirred by classical legends and mediæval romance. The sermons, speeches, memoirs, and poetry of the age are as full of classical allusions as the exercises of the children. Some doctors of the Sorbonne, such as Claude Despençe, who could, when he chose, write a plain prose style, lie overthrown in the heavy armour of their memorial oratory. Frenchmen of the sixteenth century tried to imitate the paladins of the Amadis de Gaul.

“All that the old Dukes had been, without knowing it,
This Duke would fain know he was, without being it;
'Twas not for the joy's self, but the joy of his showing it,
Not for the pride's self, but the pride of our seeing it,
He revived all usages thoroughly worn-out,
The souls of them fumed forth, the hearts of them torn out;
And chief in the chase his neck he perilled.”

The Dawn of Womanhood

The manners of the time, though superficially polished, retained something of the rudeness of earlier European courts. The captains of Henry II. ate and drank hugely, and delighted in rough horse-play. In their dealings with women, if Brantôme may be trusted, they had lost the reverence of more Christian centuries. In the two great pleasures and occupations of peace they resembled their ancestors. The tournament, which in the days of Francis I. was the amusement of private gentlemen, became under Henry II. the royal sport, in which the King challenged all rivals and risked his life on every chance occasion.

Gay ladies from their tapestried boxes watched the prowess of the champions, and whispered mysteriously as to the meaning of the colours worn. Queen Mary breathed from childhood an atmosphere impregnated with scandal. Must it not also be admitted that she was early familiarised with sights and thoughts of cruelty? The dreadful facts of the persecution cannot have been wholly hidden from her. She must have known that in this beautiful France there was the awful institution of the *estrade*, on which men and women, some young and of noble birth, were suspended after having their tongues torn out, above the fiery furnace, and alternately raised and lowered until their bodies became mere palpitating cinders. The Protestant allies of Henry II. were powerless to prevent these inhuman tortures.

The frequent watching of tournaments was likely also to harden the feelings of a young girl. Nominally these contests were conducted with courtesy and gentleness, but as the day wore on, passions were inflamed, fierce blows were given and received, and the champion who had ridden out in the morning resplendent

Mary as a Horsewoman

in his enamelled armour, with gilded lance and plumed helmet, might be carried home at nightfall with his rich array all bloodstained.

The pleasures of the hunt were enjoyed by men and women equally. Catherine de' Medici had ingratiated herself with her father-in-law, Francis I., by joining him in sylvan sports, and two of her sons, Francis II. and Charles IX., carried the passion for hunting to such an extreme as to wear out their most energetic followers.

The Scottish Queen was a fearless and graceful horsewoman, and she bore herself gallantly when an accident occurred. On a winter afternoon,¹ when hunting near Blois, she was caught by the bough of a tree, and flung off her horse with such force that she was unable to cry for help. Several ladies and gentlemen of her suite had in the excitement of the rush passed on before she was noticed, "and some of their horses rode so near her her hood was trodden off. As soon as she was raised from the ground, she spoke and said she felt no hurt, and herself began to set her hair, and dress up her head, and so returned to the Court, where she kept her chamber till the King removed. She feels no incommodity by her fall, and yet has determined to change that kind of exercise."

The Queen led a healthful, open-air life when visiting her relatives at their country houses. She was an occasional guest of her uncle the Cardinal at Meudon. Writing to his sister-in-law, the Duchess of Guise, before the end of the siege of Metz, Charles said: "I was at Meudon during my visit to Paris, and I can assure you that when the house is finished,

¹ This incident occurred in the autumn of 1559, when Mary was Queen Consort.

The Dawn of Womanhood

as it soon may be, and when we have added a few little ideas that I have imagined, and our busts and marbles from Paris, it will be equal to the finest houses in this kingdom, and just as suitable for a great prince. I hope before Lent to receive both you and your husband there, and you will see if I am a true prophet, and if not put the blame on me.”¹

There are few traces left of the Meudon described in the poems of Ronsard and L'Hôpital. Nothing remains of the grotto which bore the inscription “*Quiete et musis Henrici Secundi*,” and which was built, Ronsard tells us, by “Charlot, whose name is sacred in the forests.” Michel de l'Hôpital writes of the view from the heights of Meudon, and bids the Cardinal seek relaxation amid its country pleasures from the cares of state. An observatory now occupies the site of the ancient château. From the terrace we may still look “over the fertile fields which the Seine waters, to Vincennes and the sepulchres of the Kings.” In lower Meudon rises the square, massive tower of Rabelais' church, the only building, perhaps which belongs to Queen Mary's time.²

An event at which the Queen was present was the baptism at Meudon (April 1554) of Charles, second son of the Duke of Guise, afterwards to be celebrated in history as the Duke of Mayenne, General of the League. The Cardinal of Lorraine told the story in one of those letters to his sister in Scotland, which

¹ Letter quoted by René de Bouillé, vol. i. p. 206.

² At Meudon (Easter 1554) Mary made her first Communion. Writing to her mother, she said: “I have come to Meudon to Madam my grandmother in order to keep the feast of Easter, because she and my uncle, Monsieur the Cardinal, wish that I should take the Sacrament and I pray to God very humbly to give me grace that I may make good beginning” (*National Manuscripts of Scotland*, part iii. No. 39).

Mary at Meudon

are in themselves sufficient proof that he possessed some charming qualities. The King, he said, had been his guest at Dampierre and afterwards at Meudon, "where we celebrated, last Thursday, the christening of the little son whom God has given us, as healthy and as pretty a boy as you could see. The Duke of Ferrara and I were godfathers, Madame de Valentinois godmother. I gave him my name, and I tried to show as much hospitality as I could to the whole company."

He proceeded to tell that Mary had been present at the christening, and that her health was perfect. "I am amazed to hear that some have written to you that she is sickly. They must have been malicious and ill-intentioned people, for I assure you she was never better, and even the doctors say that her constitution gives promise that she will live as long, with God's help, as any of her relatives."¹

Mary must have found pleasure sometimes in playing with her baby cousins, the children of the Duke of Guise. These children were often left in the care of their grandmother, and one of the Dowager's letters to Anne d'Este gives a glimpse of the strictness of her training. "As for your children who are here, they are all healthy and well. The eldest is big, and quite good; the second is a pretty and a naughty boy. He has become so provoking that it is sometimes a pity to see him. I have already given him a whipping. He is afraid of me because of this, and when they speak to him of grandmamma I work wonders."² When you see him I think he will please

¹ Labanoff, *Recueil*, vol. i. pp. 20-21.

² This little Charles of whom the Duchess writes, "Je luy ay deia donné des verges," was less than two years old.

The Dawn of Womanhood

you well and Louis also. He is getting so pretty and so intelligent and so healthy that it is a pleasure to see him." There is a tenderness in the old lady's letter which leads us to doubt whether her whippings hurt much.¹

The Venetian Ambassador, Giovanni Capello, writing in 1554, drew the portraits of the chief personages at Court and described the daily routine.² He was more flattering, or at least more cautious in his criticisms than his successors, Soranzo and Michiel. The King, in his opinion, could not spend his time more profitably; his days were usefully and honourably filled. In summer it was his custom to rise at dawn, in winter as soon as it was light, and he began each day with prayer. He afterwards attended the secret or inner Council. "The Counsellor of whom the King thinks most highly is the Constable, because he is the eldest, and the one whose advice and exploits have best demonstrated his devotion and zeal. Afterwards the King goes to Mass, at which his behaviour is most devout, for he knows that all good comes from God, and that prayer wins for us success and wise counsels. After Mass he dines, but with a very poor appetite. One might think he was more occupied with his thoughts than with his need of food." Hunting parties, according to Capello, were at this time held twice a week.

The Dauphin was described by Capello as a good-looking boy, well proportioned, but delicate in health. "He does not care much for letters, at which the King is displeased. Very good teachers have been

¹ Le Marquis de Pimodan, *La Mère des Guises*, p. 306.

² Tommasco, *Relations des Ambassadeurs Vénitiens*, vol. i. pp. 371-76.

Madame de Paroy

provided for him, and they instruct him never to refuse to do what is asked of him, so that by constant practice he may acquire all the liberal culture that is needed for a king. Yet their success is very small."

The Dauphin was more anxious to shine as a soldier than as a scholar. In early childhood he had written that he was to follow his King after the age of seven, and there is a pathetic sequel to that letter in Dr. Wotton's statement of October 1, 1555, that the King was to be accompanied to the frontier by the Dauphin, "who shall this journey begin to wear harness, at least mail, and some other light gear meet for him to wear; he shall have his own band waiting for him, whereof he rejoices not a little."¹

The sagacious and witty Dr. Wotton, one of the most literary of our ambassadors, had been impressed, it is clear, with the high spirit of the eleven-year-old boy, and saw a brighter glance in his eyes than the portraits reveal to us.

The Venetian Capello overflowed with praises of Mary. He described her as "most beautiful." The Dauphin, he said, loved her dearly, and liked to chat with her in private.

The post of governess to the Scottish Queen was given, after Lady Fleming's disgrace, to Françoise d'Estamville (Madame de Paroy), a lady of middle age and irreproachable character. The Cardinal was at first enthusiastic in her praise. "I must not omit to tell you that Madame de Paroy is doing her duty as well as possible, and you may be sure that God is well served according to the ancient way."²

¹ *Foreign Calendar*, "Mary," p. 187.

² Labanoff, *Recueil*, vol. i. p. 16. Letter to Mary of Lorraine of February 25, 1552-53.

The Dawn of Womanhood

Madame de Paroy, unfortunately, did not succeed in winning the affection of her pupil, and her mean and jealous disposition caused continual disturbance. The royal girl, following her mother's instructions, presented a dress to her aunt, the Abbess Renée, and another to the Abbess Antoinette, to be cut up and used as altar coverings. These gifts and some other presents to the servants of the Queen's household seemed to Madame de Paroy to be stolen from her perquisites. She complained bitterly that Mary wished to keep her poor, and seemed to claim the right to take out of the wardrobe any disused dress that caught her fancy. When the Queen looked for a robe to give away, she often found it had disappeared, and she wrote to her mother that Madame de Paroy would not willingly allow her to give away a single pin, and that in consequence people were beginning to think her mean, "and even to say that I am not like you."¹ The displeasure of the Queen with her governess developed later into an open quarrel. "I am amazed," she wrote to her mother, "that she dares to tell you such untruths. I send you an inventory of all the dresses I have had since I came to France, from which you will see how matters stand, and how she has acted."

Mary must have pressed her uncle to get rid of Madame de Paroy, who was evidently a favourite with the Queen Dowager. In April 1557² he wrote from Villers-Cotterets to his sister that the governess was ill in Paris, and was in danger of suffering from chronic dropsy. She had been too ill to attend to her duties since the beginning of the year, and though Mary's behaviour was as good as if she had had a

¹ Labanoff, *Recueil*, vol. i. p. 31. ² *Ibid.* p. 36. See Appendix B.

Unkind Treatment of Mary

dozen governesses, still it did not look well that at her age she should have no lady with her in constant residence. Madame de Paroy, in the Cardinal's opinion, was not likely to live long, and indeed it was hardly thought probable that she would survive till Christmas. He praised Mary for the patience with which she had endured provocations, but so many things had come to light that it was impossible she should go on bearing the same treatment. In place of Madame de Paroy, he recommended Madame de Brêne, a lady chosen by the King.

It was hoped at this time that Mary of Lorraine might visit France, and her brother assured her in this letter that her presence was "more than necessary." The King was planning the marriage of the Dauphin for the coming winter, and the bride's mother, it was thought, could hardly be absent on the great occasion.

Madame de Paroy must have been a woman of disagreeable character, though some of her faults may be excused on the ground of failing health. The worst accusation brought against her is that she spoke unkindly of Mary to Catherine de' Medici. The dazzling position of the Scottish Queen at the French Court may have recalled to Catherine in painful contrast the first ten years of her own life as the consort of Henry. She came from Italy as a girl of fourteen, and because no child had been born to her in the later years of Francis I. there was talk among the courtiers of annulling the marriage and sending her back to her Florentine relatives. Poets and historians have written of these years of wistful waiting, but no contemporary writer has penetrated the secrets of this strange heart. Catherine bore the slowly deepening agony of childlessness, contempt,

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actual if not legal repudiation ; and the poison distilled itself in bitter drops, hardening her against her own children, blotting out her belief in love. The boy Francis, who seemed the divinely given answer to her sorrowful prayer, "Voce mea ad Dominum clamavi," was not her favourite child. Her affection was lavished on the miserable Henry III., the most Italian of her sons, who had all the vices and few of the virtues of the house of Medici.

Reading between the lines of Mary's letters and the Cardinal's, we can understand the mischief wrought by Madame de Paroy and the bitter feelings of Catherine. The Cardinal tells his sister that although the governess was a good woman, she deserved no gratitude from the family of Guise, and that her conduct had nearly cost the life of the Queen.¹ Mary herself, in a letter written a month after her uncle's,² said that Madame de Paroy had almost been the cause of her death, "because I was afraid of falling under your displeasure, and because I grieved at hearing through these false reports so many disputes and so much harm said of me." It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that when Madame de Paroy tried to influence Catherine de' Medici against her pupil, the unkind words were caught up by a ready listener.

The correspondence does not inform us at what moment Mary was released from the yoke of this treacherous invalid, but the last letter referring to her is dated May 1557, less than a year before the Queen's marriage.

Among the most interesting passages in Mary's early correspondence are the references to Diane de Poitiers. A curious paragraph of all-round gratitude

¹ Labanoff, *Recueil*, vol. i. p. 35.

² *Ibid.* pp. 40, 41.

Mary and Diane de Poitiers

occurs in the long letter dated from Blois on Holy Innocents' Day (December 28).¹

The thirteen-year-old Queen wrote :—

“ Madame, I must not forget to tell you that my uncle Monsieur de Guise and my aunt Madame de Guise take more [care] of me and my concerns than of their own children ; but as for my uncle the Cardinal, I [tell you] nothing about him, for you know it already : all my other uncles [would do] the same if they had the means. I pray you to thank them and to commend me always to them, so that they may go on as they are doing, for you would hardly believe how careful they are of me. I can say the same of Madame de Valentinois : if you please, Madame, write about it to them all.”²

In a letter of May 1557,³ Mary said to her mother :—

“ For the rest, you know how I am bound to do what I can for Madame de Valentinois and her relatives, because of the affection which she shows me more and more. I could not render her a better service than by arranging for something which I see she wants, the marriage of my cousin Arran with her [grand] daughter, Mademoiselle de Bouillon. It would not be difficult to manage this if you approved, for he is very devoted to her. The King would like it very much, for he has spoken to me affectionately about him, saying that he had promised to find him a wife, and he could not do so in a better family. The daughter of Monsieur de Montpensier is promised and the others married,

¹ The year is not mentioned, but Prince Labanoff was probably right in assigning it to 1555 ; for the Court, in that year, spent Christmas at Blois.

² Labanoff, *Recueil*, vol. i. p. 32.

³ The date of this letter is clearly fixed by the allusion to the marriage of François de Montmorency with Madame de Castres, which took place on May 4, 1557 (Labanoff, vol. i. pp. 40-45).

The Dawn of Womanhood

except Mademoiselle de Nevers, who is a girl likely to look farther."

The Queen adds that Mademoiselle de Bouillon loved her so much that she was willing to take any husband if only she might remain by her mistress's side.

There is no reason to suppose that Mary of Guise heard with uneasiness of her daughter's close association with Diane de Poitiers. The Regent, as a woman of the world, would have approved that letter which her brother wrote to Diane after his elevation to the Cardinalate: "I cannot refrain from thanking you again for the special favour you have shown me, and for the great happiness it has given me. I will use every effort to serve you more and more, and I hope from these efforts to reap good fruit for you as well as for myself, since my interests henceforth cannot be separated from yours."

The author of this letter was likely to encourage his niece in subserviency to the all-powerful favourite. What were Mary's thoughts, we wonder, as her growing intelligence realised the true state of affairs at the Valois Court? Trained as she had been in strict religious observance, in the moral precepts of antiquity, in the wise words of Erasmus, how did she regard the proud widow whose robes of black and white gleamed with the lustre of the crown jewels? Did she see in Diane an evanescent divinity, whose light must one day pale before her own rising sun? And the mother, who in her Northern palaces read and re-read the affectionate girlish letters—must not her heart have trembled sometimes, amid her worldly schemes, lest her child might in the distant future

Illness of Mary

be superseded, as kings' daughters had been superseded on every throne of Europe, by some frail, beautiful woman, who would carry a monarch's heart in her hand ?

Diane de Poitiers, in the years during which Queen Mary bears testimony to her personal kindness, was enriching herself with property confiscated from the Huguenots, and used the sums gained by these disgraceful executions to ransom her son-in-law, Aumale, from his captivity after the siege of Metz.

The extraordinary cleverness of Diane is shown in her conduct towards the ladies of the royal household. She conciliated Catherine, she acted as a tender guardian to Mary, and so when the moment came for the disgrace which her cool mind must have confronted a thousand times across the years, she was not driven ruthlessly out of the palace like Madame d'Étampes, but was allowed to make an honourable retreat. She had filled her unlicensed place with such dignity as to force respect even from her antagonists, and her influence was never stronger than in the closing months of Henry's life.

In August 1556, Queen Mary was seriously ill. The heat of the summer had been so extraordinary, as the Cardinal wrote to his sister, that the like had not been experienced in the memory of man. "In consequence there have come upon us an infinite number of diseases."¹ He proceeded to give one of the very rare pieces of bad news which are mentioned in his correspondence with the Queen-Dowager.

"Madame, on the eighth of this month a persistent fever attacked the Queen, your daughter, who was

¹ Father Pollen, *Papal Negotiations*, p. 421.

The Dawn of Womanhood

living at Fontainebleau with the Queen [of France], the King and myself being at Anet. The ailment was wonderfully severe and sharp. The pains which our Queen took over her were really incredible, for she did not leave her night or day. Thus helped in good time, she took medicine the second day, was bled on the third day, and on the fourth day she was quite free of fever.

"Now, Madame, the Queen had sent word with speed to inform me, and I had to set out immediately by post. Leaving Anet that evening, I was with her by dinner-time next day to pay her the service which I owe. I found that the persistent fever was subsiding. I remained there three days, during which she had two accesses of prolonged fever, which lasted till nightfall, and this is her fourth attack, but there was no mishap or danger at any time. The doctors think that there will be seven attacks. The day before yesterday I came to Paris to see the King, and shall return to-morrow morning. The King will not arrive till the day after to-morrow.

"I beg you, Madame, not to distress yourself, and take my assurance that there is no danger. The Queen hardly ever leaves her, not even during her attacks. She and her sister¹ are always there, and I could not sufficiently tell you your obligations to them. . . .

"I shall soon send you the news of the complete recovery (with God's aid) of the Queen your daughter."

This was a lingering and trying illness, which hung about the Queen till the end of the year.

¹ Father Pollen, whose translation of this letter is here copied, says in a note (p. 419): "Who 'Madame sa seur' may be is not clear. Catherine was an only child, and the sisters of the 'Madame' addressed were either dead or in the cloister. 'Sisters' are mentioned again in the next letter. Perhaps sisters-in-law are meant."

Is not the reference undoubtedly to Madame Margaret, sister of Henry II. ? The Cardinal usually refers to his own sister-in-law, Anne d'Este, as "ma seur."

Letters from the Cardinal

On October 2, the Cardinal again wrote :¹—

“ Madame, I have already written twice to inform you of the sickness of the Queen your daughter, which is more strange than dangerous, and has no other inconvenience than its length. Sometimes she is eight or ten days without having fever, then we are all in dismay because she has some symptoms of relapse in the form of little shiverings. I really believe, Madame, that everything possible is being tried in order to cure her completely, but thus far without success, so obstinate is the ailment. It is one of the maladies of this year which are affecting many. Our little nephew,² the Prince of Joinville, has had his share, viz., a daily fever, of which he has had almost sixty returns. M. the Dauphin is in this town with a quartan fever, into which he fell from the first, and we were greatly afraid, and so were the doctors too, that your daughter’s fever would return yet again. But the course of her malady now puts an end to our concern. We have had her taken to Meudon, where she has been for some time for the benefit of the air, which is remarkably good during the summer season. But seeing the cold weather return, we thought well to bring her back here, where we shall not neglect anything for the entire restoration of her health, which, with the help of God, will be ere long.”

In an autograph postscript, the Cardinal said : “ I beg you not to be disturbed, and to believe that in her ailment there is no other danger than the length of it. She is living at the Maison de Guise. The King and Queen go there daily. The Dauphin is at the Tournelles.³ None of us, brothers and sisters,

¹ *Papal Negotiations*, pp. 422, 423.

² Father Pollen translates the words, “ Notre petit nepveu,” “ our grandnephew,” but the reference is to Henry of Guise, who bore the title “ Prince of Joinville.” He was at this time six years old.

³ The palace of the Tournelles in Paris, where Henry II. died in 1559.

The Dawn of Womanhood

forget any of our bounden services to her, and we beg you to trust me."

On January 13, 1557, the day on which Dr. Wotton mentions that Mary was with the Court at Poissy, the Regent wrote to the Cardinal from Edinburgh: ". . . I learn that the sickness and convalescence of my daughter are over, which has given me very great pleasure. Still, I cannot absolutely quiet my anxiety until I hear that her health continues, which I beg our Lord graciously to grant, and also to send to Monsieur the Dauphin a perfect recovery, so that our satisfaction at their health and good estate may be complete."¹

The Queen's illness had caused the gravest anxiety in Scotland, as is evident from the later paragraphs of this letter. The document as a whole is the best key to the character of that heroic and sorely tried woman, the Regent Mary of Lorraine. She clung, as we can see, with an almost childlike wistfulness to the strong, powerful younger brothers who were pushing their way at the French Court, and who, as she thought, were forgetting that her interests were linked with theirs. In courage she knew herself to be the equal of Francis, and could share, as well as appreciate, the noblest qualities of his character. If she leant with a peculiar tenderness on the Cardinal Charles, the reason is partly, no doubt, that she remembered him as a bright and lovable boy at Joinville before her departure for Scotland; partly that she was compelled to acknowledge his intellectual

¹ *Papal Negotiations*, p. 427. From the Cardinal's letter of April 8, 1556-57, we may assume that he discovered, during the course of this illness, that his royal niece had been greatly distressed on account of the neglect and the uncharitable talk of her governess.

The Regent in Scotland

superiority ; perhaps also that she bent instinctively before his sacred office. The annals of great families furnish few more pleasing letters than those exchanged between the children of Claude and Antoinette of Guise.

After the accession of the Queen Mother to the Regency of Scotland, a firmer strain is recognisable in her correspondence. The lachrymose, almost hysterical tone disappears, her private woes sink out of sight, she begins to feel herself the guardian of a people. This descendant of a great ruling house laid no uncertain hold upon the sceptre. Lonely as her lot might be in the halls of Stirling and Holyrood, she represented the high majesty of France and Scotland, and she heard the approving voice of all Christian sovereigns cheering her in the hours of exile. We can picture the stately widow presiding over the council of her nobles, and soothing quarrels with large-hearted charity. When work was over, we see her unfolding with tremulous fingers the latest packet from France, searching first for her daughter's handwriting, the scrolls which to us are so pale and dim, then turning with tear-filled eyes to ask the messenger for the latest news of her dear ones. In the public gaze she was ever proud and queenly, and kept the breath of scandal far away. If she failed as an administrator, the reason is that she was too good a Frenchwoman.

Writing to the Cardinal on January 13, 1557, the widow of James v. expressed solicitude for the fortunes of the three brothers who had embarked on the inglorious Italian campaign. Charles, who had been the chief instrument in breaking the Truce of Vaucelles, which Coligny had arranged with the Emperor, must

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have doubted, as he read her letter, whether he had acted wisely in stirring up "this war of the Pope."

"I am more disturbed over it," wrote the Regent "than ever I was when the war was raging in the country. Not that I so much dread the force and power of the foe as their underhand dealings and the poisons which they often use, also the want of supplies which, I fear, will run short. But one must always leave all in the hand of God, for He it is that is the Lord of victories."¹

The allusion to poisons inevitably suggests the thought, What did the Regent think of the report current sixteen months later, that her brothers had used poison to get rid of some of the Scots Commissioners for her daughter's marriage?

With statesmanlike insight, the Regent foresaw that trouble would arise in Italy through the vice and lawlessness of the French troops, though she could not have predicted the treachery of the house of Caraffa, nor the enervation which sank upon the Duke of Guise in Rome.

Turning her thoughts from the Italian expedition the Regent gave an account of her troubles with the lords.

"They are more difficult to manage than ever God knows, brother mine, what a life I lead. It is no small thing to bring a young nation to a state of perfection, and to an unwonted subservience to those who desire to see justice reign. Great responsibilities are easily undertaken, but not discharged to God's satisfaction without difficulty. Happy is he who has the least to do with mundane affairs. I can say that for twenty years past I have not had one year of rest, and I think that if I were to say not one month

¹ *Papal Negotiations*, p. 427.

Mary and her Countrymen

I should not be far wrong. Pain of the heart is worse than any other ill, and I can assure you that my brothers' expedition assuages nothing of my grief." ¹

The Regent admitted that her daughter's illness had disturbed men's minds so much "that those from whom I hoped the most, I have found more estranged than I have ever seen them, not only since I have ruled them, but since I have known Scotland." "I am forced," she added, "to keep up many pretences till I come to the proper time." ²

The diplomatic correspondence of the period proves but too clearly that foreign Powers regarded Scotland, during Mary's minority, almost as a province of France. Soranzo reported to the Doge and Senate, on August 18, 1554, that "Mary Queen of Scotland, being now twelve years old, is out of her minority, during which she was under the guardianship of the Earl of Arran, who is also styled Duke of Châtellherault in right of a duchy given him by the King of France. . . . The fortresses are all in the hands of the French, and of the Queen Dowager, who being a Frenchwoman, it may be said that everything is in the power of his most Christian Majesty, who keeps some thousand infantry there as garrison, that force being sufficient, as in two days they can send over as many troops as they please." ³

To her own countrymen who visited the French Court Mary was gracious and affable. The ambassadors of Mary Tudor passed through France in 1555 on their way to Rome, and joined the royal circle at Fontainebleau. The Bishop of Ely and Viscount

¹ *Papal Negotiations*, pp. 428, 429.

² *Ibid.* p. 430.

³ *Venetian Calendar*, vol. v. p. 540.

The Dawn of Womanhood

Montagu had some talk with Henry II., and afterwards "were brought into the Queen's chamber in presence, where the French Queen, accompanied with the Queen of Scots, and two of her own daughter was ready to receive them. . . . The next day after being the 11th day, the rest of the train that could not be lodged at the Court came thither, and desired certain Scottish gentlemen that they might see the Queen of Scots, who being told of their desire to see her, immediately she very courteously came forth out of her privy chamber into her chamber of presence amongst us all, and said unto us she was very glad to see us, calling us her countrymen."¹

It is not known at what time the girl Queen had the attack of smallpox to which she refers in a letter to Queen Elizabeth of 1566.² Her beauty was saved by the skilful treatment of Fernel, chief physician to Henry II., and Mary says that he had kept his prescription secret. The ravages of this malignant disease in the sixteenth century taxed the skill of the foremost doctors, and Mary probably owed as much to Fernel as her uncle Francis owed to the bold surgeon of Ambroise Paré.

French palaces were hotbeds of infectious maladies partly caused by the neglect of the simplest sanitary precautions, and partly by the constant mingling of the royal servants with the populace of the towns. The Queen of Scots was on more than one occasion hurried away as a precaution against some illness which had broken out in the King's nursery. Capello writing from Laon (June 30, 1554), mentioned that Catherine de' Medici had been prevented from going

¹ Hardwicke Papers, vol. i. p. 68.

² Labanoff, *Recueil*, vol. vii. pp. 304-306.

Proposals for Peace

to Rheims owing to a slight indisposition which had suddenly seized her eldest daughter, Madame Isabel (Elizabeth). And he added that "On the same day they sent off the Dauphin, with the most serene Queen of Scotland and her Majesty's other daughter, to Rheims." ¹

The three years preceding the marriage of Queen Mary with the Dauphin were marked by strange vicissitudes for France. After the raising of the siege of Metz, efforts were made by the Pope to reconcile Charles v. and Henry II. Cardinal Pole was sent as Legate to confer with both sovereigns, and Dr. Wotton acknowledged that if any Cardinal could do good, Pole was that person, "being esteemed of an honest mind and virtuous life, and so much respected by the Emperor that at the last vacation of the Papacy the Imperial Cardinals laboured to have him made Pope." ² Pole failed in his mission, but he joined with the Constable and the Cardinal in the negotiations of Marck, near Ardres (May 1555). It was clear to the watchful Venetian, Soranzo, that Henry II. was not anxious for peace at this time.³ He had been fairly successful in warfare, and his coffers were not yet empty. The conference dissolved on the understanding that the negotiations for peace were not closed.

The Cardinal of Lorraine departed for Rome in October, and was absent from Court for six months. Henry II., no longer overborne by the imperious Churchman, listened to the counsels of his friend the Constable, and on the 5th of February 1556 the

¹ *Venetian Calendar*, vol. v. p. 517.

² *Foreign Calendar*, "Mary," p. 19.

³ *Venetian Calendar*, vol. vi. part i. p. 79.

The Dawn of Womanhood

Truce of Vaucelles was signed. Charles v., who wished to retire from the world, agreed to accept for five years the general results of the war. The truce, which was negotiated by Coligny, was honourable to France, and might have led to a permanent peace but for the machinations of the Cardinal of Lorraine in Italy. From boyhood he had dreamt of an Italian crown for his brother, and he persuaded the aged Pope Paul iv. to enter into an alliance with France against the Imperialists.

The story of the rupture of the truce is graphically given by the Huguenot historian, Pierre de la Place, who was not unkindly disposed to the Cardinal. He describes him as "a person endowed with many gifts and graces, but (as is the nature of great intellects) ambitious and aspiring to high things."¹

Returning from Italy after Easter, the Cardinal was informed of the conclusion of the truce, which meant the undoing of his work at Rome. "As he passed through Nevers, travelling by water, he said aloud in the presence of several persons, that this was not what the King had promised him, and that he possessed means to break the truce, promising that he would do so as soon as he reached the Court, which was then at Blois."

Once more the dominating brain of his ablest statesman worked on the feeble Henry ii., but war might still have been averted had not the Constable found it necessary, in arranging the marriage of his son Francis with Madame de Castres, natural daughter of the King, to secure the favour of Paul iv. Possibly,

¹ *Commentaires de l'Estat de la Religion et République* (Panthéon edition), p. 1. Pierre de la Place wrote, it should be remembered, in the Cardinal's lifetime. He was one of the victims of the St. Bartholomew.

The Duke of Guise in Italy

as Pierre de la Place suggests, he was not sorry to allow his great rival, the Duke of Guise, to wear away his strength in Italy. The baleful influence of the ex-condottiere, Cardinal Carlo Caraffa, nephew and legate of the Pope, was also on the side of war. In the last days of December 1556, the Duke of Guise crossed the Alps, and arrived in Rome at the beginning of Lent. He had accomplished, as the Pope told him bluntly, little for his master's honour and still less for his own, when the defeat of the Constable's army at Saint-Quentin (August 10, 1557) caused the French people to recall, as with a cry of anguish, the hero of Metz as the defender of the fatherland.

CHAPTER VII

THE MARRIAGE OF MARY AND FRANCIS

Results of the taking of Calais—Popularity of the Guises—Their desire to hasten the marriage—Appeals from Scotland—The betrothal—Invitation to the magistrates—Decorations of Notre Dame—The wedding day—Procession of the bride and bridegroom—The Cardinal Charles de Bourbon unites the royal pair—The Bishop of Paris celebrates the nuptial Mass—The wedding banquets—Dancing and masquerades—The pageant of the ships—Michiel's description of the wedding.

WITH the taking of Calais, history sheds her brightest ray on the ducal diadem of Guise. When Charles v., in the monastery of Yuste, heard of the defeat of Saint-Quentin, a last gleam of ambitious joy shone in the eyes from which all earthly splendours were fading, and the Emperor, remembering the great days of his rivalry with Francis I., cried out, "Is my son in Paris?" Philip might have been in Paris but for Coligny's heroic defence of the town of Saint-Quentin, seconded, no doubt, by his own habitual caution. "How many days' journey from here to Paris?" he asked his prisoners. "Three days," replied a veteran of the wars of Francis I., "and that means three battles, for the King has yet three armies." No one knew better than the valiant M. la Roche du Maine that the King's one efficient army was with Guise in Italy, and that Guise alone, the friend and brother of the common soldier, could be trusted to

The Taking of Calais

lead back that army in good condition. Three thousand were left dead on the battlefield of Saint-Quentin, and there were seven thousand prisoners. Coligny saved Paris for the moment, holding out gallantly from the 10th to the 29th of August. In the horrors of the sack of Saint-Quentin even his services were forgotten. The Constable, Saint-André, the Admiral himself, were prisoners. Andelot escaped from the doomed town, and told the story to his countrymen. Each tortured, dying inhabitant of Saint-Quentin had perhaps saved the lives of hundreds of Parisians. A modern French historian¹ compares Philip II. to the bull in the arena, which neglects the picadores that he may wreak his vengeance on the horse which he has disembowelled.

The Duke of Guise returned, as the nation expected, bringing the army in sound health and spirits. He had won no credit in Italy, and his return would have been humiliating but for the extraordinary series of accidents which recalled him as the saviour of his country.

"His rivals," says a French writer, "had rejoiced in the eclipse of his glory; they were gloating over his early fall, but now it is he who is brought back to repair their faults, to efface their disaster. At the very moment when he has lost hope in his own enterprise, he sees the nation, in her distress, place her hopes in him. An unlucky General on the frontier of Naples, he is yet a pledge of success for France."²

Guise was made Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, and in the early months of 1558, after the taking of Calais,³ he and his brother attained the summit of

¹ Forneron, *Les Ducs de Guise*, vol. i. p. 188.

² René de Bouillé, vol. i. p. 396.

³ January 1558.

The Marriage of Mary and Francis

their glory. Under Francis II. they possessed a moral and regal authority, but they had not, as in 1558, the suffrages of the people. It was natural that they should decide to carry through, while Montmorency was absent, the marriage of their niece the Queen of Scots with the Dauphin Francis. Henry II., deprived of his beloved friend the Constable, was delivered over to the rule of half-foreign princes whom he admired, suspected, and feared. A vivid glimpse of the inner life at Court is given by the Venetian Ambassador in a letter of December 6, 1557.¹ He tells that a Spanish gentleman arrived at the palace, with safe-conduct from Montmorency, addressed to the Cardinal Odet de Châtillon. That gentle-hearted Churchman was anxious, we may be sure, as to the welfare of his uncle and his brother Gaspard, and he may naturally have supposed that the envoy had private messages from the Constable to the King, so he "watched the hour for introducing him to the King during the absence of the Cardinal of Lorraine which was when he had taken leave of his Majesty to go to bed." The Spanish gentleman talked for two hours with Henry, and then set out on his homeward journey. At the very moment of the Guisac supremacy at Court, Henry II. was hungrily longing for a word from the Constable, and we may conjecture that plans for Montmorency's escape, or for a peace however humiliating, which would ensure his freedom were already maturing in the King's mind. But he dared converse on such things only when the watchful eyes of his chief minister were closed in sleep.

The commanding position of the Cardinal of Lorraine at the Court of Henry II. is the most striking

¹ *Venetian Calendar*, vol. vi. part iii. p. 1385.



*François, Dauphin of France, and
Mary Stuart*

*From the miniature painting in the
Livre d'Heures of Catherine de Medici
in the Louvre at Paris.*

(Enlarged from the Original)

Hastening the Marriage

fact attested by the Venetian correspondence. During the Council of Trent, as the archives of Venice prove, Charles was regarded by the Republic as almost in himself an independent European Power.¹ His great abilities were admitted without reserve by the Italian diplomatists, though his character and political methods impressed such men as Soranzo and Michiel unfavourably. After the taking of Calais, Michiel suggested to the Doge and Senate that in any letter of congratulation the Cardinal's name, as well as the Duke's, should be expressly mentioned, "this victory giving them such repute that the administration of France will remain in their hands for ever."²

The motives for hurrying on the Dauphin's marriage were perfectly understood by the Venetians, though the Cardinal seems to have placed the responsibility on the King. Le Laboureur has very truly remarked that everything published against this statesman was better received than his praises. He had rushed to the rescue after Saint-Quentin, collecting soldiers and money, enrolling in every province of the kingdom young men who were capable of bearing arms. "The Cardinal displayed at every point an activity and a presence of mind which restored public security and which inspired in the nation a genuine gratitude."³ But France understood instinctively that, owing to his half-foreign ancestry, her keenest working brain did not exert itself in her interests solely or chiefly. It was the lifelong subordination of national interests to family and party intrigues which wrought the Cardinal's ruin.

¹ Armand Baschet, *Journal du Concile de Trente*, p. 214.

² *Venetian Calendar*, vol. vi. part iii. p. 1423.

³ René de Bouillé, vol. i. p. 404.

The Marriage of Mary and Francis

To the Ambassador Michiel, he said that the King's chief reason for wishing the Dauphin's marriage to take place was that he might no longer be pestered, whenever the agreement was discussed, with proposals for some other matrimonial alliance, "as now no one could any longer hope to thwart or impede this result, and that they would consequently turn their thoughts to something else, hinting also at the Constable as among the other opponents of the marriage."¹

The retiring Ambassador, Soranzo, meanwhile, had discovered, as early as November 1557, the true motives of the French Court in hastening the wedding. These motives were, (1) that they might avail themselves more surely of the forces of Scotland against the kingdom of England next year; and (2) to gratify the Duke and the Cardinal, who would thus be secured against any other alliance that might be proposed to the King during the negotiations for peace,² "the entire establishment of their greatness having to depend on this: for which reason the Constable, by all means in his power, continually sought to prevent it." Antoine de Bourbon, King of Navarre, whispered to Michiel during the dances on the handfasting day, "Ambassador, thou this day seest the conclusion of a thing which very few persons credited until now."

It is probable that the wish of the Guises to establish their position by Queen Mary's marriage was strengthened by appeals received from Scotland. The victor of Saint-Quentin was King of England, and the Scots nobles dreaded a general war in which their country might be involved. On March 29, 1557, M. d'Oysel had written to the Bishop of Dax that the lords wished the marriage hastened, and had suggested that the

¹ *Venetian Calendar*, vol. vi. part iii. p. 1487. ² *Ibid.* pp. 1365, 1366.

The Scottish Commissioners

Queen Dowager should go to France to arrange it, or send some of them.¹ Mary of Guise replied that Henry II. had a true affection for the Queen, their sovereign mistress, her kingdom and subjects, and that she herself was as keen as they were for the marriage. It was, however, impossible, at such a time, with war all around, for her to go to France, but she promised to consider the advisability of dispatching some of her nobles.

On December 14, 1557, the Estates of Scotland were reminded by Henry II. that the time had come for the completion of the marriage between their Queen and his son, the Dauphin. Commissioners were appointed to proceed to France as representatives of the Scottish nation. The nine envoys were James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, David Panter, Bishop of Ross, Robert Reid, Bishop of Orkney, the Earls of Rothes and Cassillis, the Lord James, Commendator of St. Andrews, Lords Fleming and Seton, and John Erskine of Dun. A tax of £15,000 was imposed to defray the expenses of the Scots Commissioners.²

Diane de Poitiers, the powerful favourite, had her own reason for hastening the wedding. Through her son-in-law, the Duke of Aumale,³ she was closely linked to the Guises, and she believed that he and his brothers would spare her any disgrace at the beginning of a new reign. That she had assiduously courted the young Queen, Mary's letters bear evidence. We gather from a letter written by Diane to the Duke of Nevers on February 27, 1557-58, that the exact date of the

¹ Teulet, *Papiers d'État*, vol. i. p. 283.

² See Dr. Hay Fleming's *Mary Queen of Scots*, p. 210 (note).

³ Claude, Duke of Aumale, was the third son of the first Duke of Guise and brother of François le Balafre.

The Marriage of Mary and Francis

betrothal had not then been fixed. "I asked him" (the King), writes Diane,¹ "if it would be well that you should come here about Ash Wednesday. He replied that there was no need, unless you like, until the betrothal of the Dauphin. This will not take place until after Easter, or if it should be earlier, we shall not fail to let you know."²

On March 25, the Dauphin wrote to the Constable, expressing regret, in the postscript, that his father's old friend could not be present at his wedding.³

The betrothal ceremony took place on Tuesday, April 19, 1558, and the marriage on the second Sunday after Easter, April 24.⁴ The young pair—a bride of fifteen and a bridegroom of fourteen—plighted their troth in the great hall of the new Louvre, the Cardinal of Lorraine joining their hands. A ball followed, in which Henry II. danced with the bride elect, Antoine of Navarre with Catherine de' Medici, the Dauphin with his aunt, Madame Margaret, and the Duke of Lorraine with his future wife, the Princess Claude.

¹ Guiffrey, p. 148.

² Easter in 1558 fell on April 10.

³ This postscript is in the Dauphin's own handwriting.

⁴ *Discours du Grand et Magnifique Triumphe fait au mariage de tresnoble et magnifique Prince François de Vallois, Roy Dauphin, filz aîné du treschrestien Roy de France Henry deuxiesme du nom et de tres-haulte et vertueuse Princesse Madame Marie d'Estreuart Royne d'Escosse.* The Rouen edition of this well-known booklet (published by Jaspard de Rémortier) has been printed for the Roxburghe Club. The Paris edition was issued by Annet Briere. On the back of the flyleaf are the words: "Il est permis à Annet Briere imprimer le discours du grand et magnifique triumphe fait au mariage de tresnoble et excellent Prince François de Vallois, Roy-Dauphin, filz aîné du treschrestien Roy de France. Avec défenses à tous autres de l'imprimer ny exposer en vente jusques à un an prochain sans les permission et congé dudit suppliant sur peine de confiscation des livres et d'amende arbitraire."

The Betrothal

The first signatures on the marriage contract were "Henry" and "Caterine"; next came the names "François" and "Marie," and Antoinette de Bourbon. The Dowager Duchess of Guise acted during the marriage week as her grand-daughter's guardian. The names of the Scots Commissioners stand last in order. The Dauphin had declared "that of his own free will and with the fullest consent of the King and Queen his father and mother, and being duly authorised by them to take the Queen of Scotland for his wife and consort, he promised to espouse her on the following Sunday, April 24th, in the face of holy Church."

Queen Mary declared "that of her own free will and consent, and by the advice of her lady grandmother, the Duchess Dowager of Guise, and the deputies of the three Estates of Scotland, she took the Dauphin Francis for her lord and husband, and promised to espouse him on the above-named day, in the face of holy Church."

On Friday, April 22, the magistrates of the city were invited to be present at the wedding in Notre Dame, and afterwards at supper at the Palace.¹ The King, it was said, desired that the marriage should be the most famous ever celebrated.

Early on Sunday morning, the city fathers, in their parti-coloured robes of crimson and yellow, mounted their mules at the door of the Hôtel de Ville. The chief legal functionary was resplendent in a long robe of yellow satin lined with velvet. The archers and town guard fell into step behind the officials. A few minutes' march brought them to the Place du Parvis, where an immense scaffolding had been erected

¹ Teulet, *Papiers d'État*, vol. i. p. 292, etc.

The Marriage of Mary and Francis

outside the Cathedral. This platform, or arched gallery, ran from the hall of the Bishop's palace, where the royal party had spent the night, to the entrance of the church and beyond it to the choir.¹ At the door of the church was a pavilion, hung with rich tapestry adorned with fleurs de lys. On the floor was a Turkey carpet, stretched the whole length of the gallery.

As in our modern state services in Westminster Abbey, the guests were early in their places. The members of the Parlement of Paris, in scarlet robes lined with velvet, occupied seats on the right of the chancel, and the civic dignitaries were on the left. The light, streaming through painted windows, fell on costly furs and glistening satins, and on hangings of priceless needlework.

The Bishop of Paris, Eustache du Bellay, awaited with his attendant clergy the coming of the state procession. He had taken his station at the Cathedral porch, raised high above the crowding throngs.

It was nearly eleven o'clock when a fanfare of trumpets announced that the bridal train had left the episcopal palace. The pressure of the people in the Cathedral square and the surrounding streets was overwhelming. The humblest Parisian wished to have a glimpse of the lovely bride, as she passed along the arcaded gallery with its bower-work of green. First came the Swiss halberdiers carrying their pikes, and followed by the band of their regiment. Francis, Duke of Guise, who performed the duties of

¹ "This splendid gallery," says Miss Strickland, "designed by Charles le Conte, the master of the works of Paris, was embowered overhead with a trellis-work of carved vine leaves and branches, disposed so as to represent a cathedral cloister with its rich groining and Gothic sculpture" (*Queens of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 76).

Procession of the Bride

Grand Master in the absence of Montmorency, saluted Bishop du Bellay, who was accompanied by his cross-bearer, and by choir-boys carrying lighted tapers in silver candlesticks. The great soldier then turned to the people, and observing that the lords and gentlemen on the dais were crowding so as to obstruct the view, he bade them stand aside. Musicians playing on many instruments advanced along the gallery,¹ and these were followed by a hundred gentlemen of the royal household, and by the princes in splendid array. In the procession walked eighteen bishops and abbots, six cardinals—Bourbon, Lorraine, Guise, Sens, Meudon, and Lenoncourt—besides Cardinal Trivulzio, the Pope's Legate. After these came the bridegroom and bride. The Dauphin was conducted by the King of Navarre, and accompanied by his brothers, Charles and Henry. Queen Mary walked between Henry II. and the Duke of Lorraine.² The Hôtel de Ville chronicler says that her robe was covered with jewels and decorated with white embroidery. Like the princess in *Love's Labour's Lost*, Mary must have seemed to the spectators "a lady walled about with diamonds."³ Two young girls bore her long and sweeping train. The

¹ The musicians wore red and yellow liveries. The contemporary chronicler says that their playing was "a thing very delightful to the sense of hearing."

² Not the Cardinal of Lorraine, as Miss Strickland supposes (p. 78). He had gone on with the other prelates. No description, as Miss Strickland reminds us, is given by any of the authorities of the dress and deportment of the bridegroom.

³ "A son col pendoit une bague d'une valeur inestimable, avec carcans, pierreries et autres richesses de grand pris. Et sur son chef portoit une couronne d'or garnie de perles, diamans, rubiz, saphirs, esmeraudes, et autres pierreries de valeur inestimable, et par especial au milieu de la dicte couronne pendoit une escharboucle estimée valoir cinq cens mil escuz ou plus."

The Marriage of Mary and Francis

great carbuncle in her tiara was valued at 500,000 crowns.

Immediately after the bride walked Catherine de Medici with the Prince of Condé, the Queen of Navarre, Madame Margaret, sister of the King, and other ladies. On reaching the main door of Notre Dame Henry II. drew from his finger a ring which he handed to the Cardinal de Bourbon, Archbishop of Rouen. It was this prelate, brother of the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé, and nephew of the Duchesse Dowager of Guise, who performed the nuptial rite in presence of all the people. The Bishop of Paris delivered an address.¹

The Duke of Guise, who loved to court the favour of the Parisians, again exerted himself to keep back the crowd of gentlemen, so that the masses might enjoy an uninterrupted view. As the King entered the church, money in great quantities was thrown by the heralds, with a cry of "Largesse" three times repeated. A frantic struggle ensued, and in the effort to capture a coin or two, lives were nearly sacrificed. From the panting, exhausted multitude voices were at length heard calling to the heralds to throw nothing more.

Mass was celebrated by the Bishop of Paris, and immediately afterwards the royal party returned to the episcopal palace for the wedding banquet. During the meal the King asked two gentlemen, Messieurs de Saint-Sever and Saint-Crespin, to hold the crown above the head of the bride. The civic party did not accompany the Court to the palace, as their invitation was for supper. They dined in a small house on the

¹ This address is described in the *Triumphe* as "une scientifique élégante oraison."

The Marriage Festivities

Place du Parvis, and the town chronicler observes that as this house was very inconvenient it would be inadvisable to return there on a similar occasion. The royalties had a dance after dinner, the King choosing Queen Mary as his partner, and the Dauphin his mother. The King of Navarre danced with Princess Elizabeth, the Duke of Lorraine with Princess Claude, the Prince of Condé with Madame Margaret, the Duke of Nevers with the Queen of Navarre, and the Duke of Nemours with the Duchess of Guise. Fourteen of the greatest personages in the kingdom led this impromptu ball, which ended soon after four o'clock, when the bridal party proceeded to the Palais de Justice for the evening revelries. Catherine de' Medici and Mary Stuart were in the same open litter, with the Cardinals Charles of Lorraine and Charles of Bourbon on either side, and the Dauphin riding behind, followed by all the great personages. The Duke of Guise had made arrangements for the supper and masquerades which were to bring the joyful day to its climax.

At five o'clock the city fathers set out for the Palais de Justice, where they were welcomed with stately ceremony. At one end of the magnificent hall, round which were ranged statues of all the French kings from Pharamond, stood a white marble table of great size and beauty, and at this the royal family took their places. Twelve masters of the household assisted the Duke of Guise, who was sumptuously dressed in frosted cloth of gold, adorned with jewels. Each dish was presented to the sound of music. More dancing followed the supper, and then began the entertainment which the contemporary chronicler describes as "masques,

The Marriage of Mary and Francis

mommeries, ballades et autres pasetems." Out the Golden Chamber came the seven planets, for the great marriage was to be represented to the people as a pageant gazed upon by unearthly spectators. Mercury passed by, arrayed in white satin, with golden girg spreading wings, and the caduceus in his hand. Mars was clad in costly armour, Venus in floating draper. After the planets came the childish fancy of twelve hobbyhorses, caparisoned in gold and silver each mounted by a young prince in golden costume. Lackeys carefully led the wicker horses, on which were seated the Princes Charles and Henry, and the children of the Dukes of Guise and Aumale. The fair head of the eight-year-old Henry of Guise must have drawn many admiring glances. It was to win the admiration of Tasso in after years. The golden hair, the bright blue eyes, of the last of the great Guises, were to be dipped in dust when another generation was completed.

A train of coaches followed, carrying pilgrims as a symbol, perhaps, of all who in later centuries should bow before the shrine of Mary. Lastly, there entered the pageant of the ships, decked with cloth of gold and crimson velvet, and carrying silver sails. Slowly they advanced, dipping gently to an artificial breeze and gliding as on the surface of deep waters. On each deck there were two seats of state, one occupied by a prince, the other waiting for his chosen one.

Through the wide hall moved the ships, as if on woven wings, till they paused near the marble tablet at which the ladies were sitting. Then the King, the bold mariner, drew the bride to her place beside him; the Dauphin took his mother, the Duke of Lorraine the Princess Claude, Antoine of Navarre

The Pageant of the Ships

his own wife, and the Prince of Condé the Duchess of Guise.

Again, as if swayed by a summer breeze, the ships moved forward. Were there other vessels mingling, in the April twilight pageant, in and out among the flickering torches ; the ship that was in three years to take the young widow from the home she loved, the ship that waited for Darnley in the Firth of Forth, the ship that was to carry Bothwell from the shores of Scotland ?

Giovanni Michiel, writing to the Doge and Senate on April 25, described the marriage festivities. " These nuptials," he said, " were really considered the most regal and triumphant of any that have been witnessed in this kingdom for many years, whether from the concourse of the chief personages of the realm both temporal and spiritual thus assembled, there being present and assisting at all the solemnities the Cardinal Legate, and all the other ambassadors, or from the pomp and richness of the jewels and apparel, both of the lords and ladies ; or from the grandeur of the banquet and stately service of the table, or from the costly devices of the masquerades and similar revels."

He noted that nothing was wanting except jousts and tournaments, which were reserved for a more convenient opportunity, either at the close of the war or when an agreement should be made. It was thought inadvisable to put the lords and gentlemen to greater expense than necessary, as they would be obliged to equip themselves for the year's campaign.¹

Michiel mentioned that the wedding of Marshal Strozzi's daughter to the son of the Count of Tenda

¹ *Venetian Calendar*, vol. vi. part iii. pp. 1486, 1487.

The Marriage of Mary and Francis

was to be celebrated about the same time, and the Cardinal before setting out to meet the Duke of Lorraine between Peronne and Cambrai wished to honour his niece, the Queen of Scotland, with a especial entertainment in his own house. "The solemnity," added the Venetian, "has by so much more gratified and contented the Parisian populace (among whom money was thrown on entering the church as a mark of greater rejoicing) as for two hundred years there is no record of any Dauphin having been married within the realm." Michi announced that the Dauphin would henceforth be known as "the King-Dauphin," and his wife as "the Queen-Dauphiness."

CHAPTER VIII

SCOTLAND AND THE MARRIAGE—A EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT

The secret pledges of the Queen of Scots to France—The three papers signed at Fontainebleau—Was the Queen responsible?—Excuses for her—Motives of the Guises in this matter—Return of the Scots Commissioners—The mysterious malady at Dieppe and the four deaths—Preliminaries of a general Peace—Henry II. and Montmorency—Death of Mary Tudor—The treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis.

THE Scots Commissioners, we may imagine, watched the pageants in the Palace with curious and delighted eyes. Little did they dream that a trickery more cunning than the mechanical contrivances which moved the ships had sought to steal away the independence of their country. To their minds, the ceremony at Notre Dame had put the seal on the old and honourable friendship between France and Scotland, and in the overt settlements of the marriage the two nations treated as equals. The independence of Scotland and the rights and privileges of its people were maintained in the Instructions with which the envoys were charged by the Estates. On April 15, Mary had pledged herself and her successors, by her royal word, to observe and keep the laws, liberties, and privileges of Scotland, to all the subjects of that kingdom, as they had been kept by their most illustrious kings. Francis and Mary, as King and Queen

Scotland and the Marriage

of the Scots, Dauphin and Dauphiness of France signed a similar document on April 30. Reiterated assurances were given by both Francis and his father that the prerogatives and ancient liberties of Scotland would be preserved inviolate. On April 19, in letter patent, the King of France and the Dauphin further promised that if Mary should die without issue, the nearest heir should succeed to the Scots crown without hindrance.¹

On April 4, at Fontainebleau, Mary had set her seal to three documents which involved her in the guilt of treachery. In the secret history of Fontainebleau there is no darker or more mysterious incident than the signing of these papers. A keen-eyed Dr Wotton or a suspicious Throckmorton might have heard some whisperings had either been with the Court, but owing to the outbreak of war there had been no resident English Ambassador in France for nearly a year, and we are deprived of narratives which would have supplemented with invaluable details the records of the wedding month.

By the first of the secret papers, Mary handed over to the King of France, in the event of her leaving no children, the kingdom of Scotland, and all her rights to the crown of England. The reasons given for so strange an act seem hardly adequate. They are (1) that the Kings of France had always shown "singular and perfect affection in protecting and defending Scotland against the English, ancient and inveterate enemies of the Queen and her predecessors and (2) that Henry II. had shown great kindness to the Queen during her minority, having maintained an

¹ For these transactions see Dr. Hay Fleming's *Mary Queen of Scots*, p. 23, and notes, p. 210.

The Secret Documents

still maintaining her establishment at his own cost.”¹

In this first document the names of the Guises are not mentioned. The donation is said to have been accepted on behalf of the King and his successors by the Cardinal of Sens, Keeper of the Seals of France, and by the royal notaries and secretaries.

In the second document, in which the Queen is made to state that she is acting by the advice of her uncles, the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Duke of Guise, she transfers to the French King, in the like event, the kingdom of Scotland until a million in gold had been paid to him, or such other sum as might be found owing for his defence of the country. From the language employed, the girl must have been led to suppose (1) that Francis I. had been pouring treasure into Scotland in her father's lifetime as well as her own; (2) that King Henry intended in the future to take upon himself a heavy burden for the defence of her country. “But for the expenses already incurred and still to be incurred, the kingdom of Scotland would have been in evident danger of total ruin, so that its preservation is entirely due to the Kings of France, and for this it was impossible, as she said, for the said Lady to reward them.”

We can trace the hand of the Cardinal of Lorraine very clearly in this second “Donation.” He had charge of the finances under Henry II., and it would have been easy for him to persuade his niece, by large and vague generalities, that the French Treasury had

¹ The text of the three documents is printed by Labanoff, *Recueil*, vol. i. pp. 50-56.

Scotland and the Marriage

been depleted by the continual necessity of subsidising Scotland ; that Henry, in fact, had bought in advance the right of inheritance.

In the third paper, which is signed by Francis as well as Mary, the Queen refers to the Instructions brought by the Scots Commissioners, in which, " by the favour and secret practice of certain persons," it was intended, should she die without heirs, to transfer her kingdom " to certain lords of the country, thus taking away from her, the true Queen, all right and liberty to dispose of it in any way, to her great regret and prejudice."

Because, for the present, she was without means of openly opposing these purposes, being far away from her kingdom, out of her subjects' sight, doubtful of the safety of her fortresses, she protested solemnly that whatever assent or consent she had given or might give to the Instructions sent by the Estates, she willed that the dispositions she had made in favour of the Kings of France should take full effect.

A careful examination of this third document shows how cleverly the lawyers had done their work. Every loophole of possible escape is closed. Mary may not have fully mastered the legal phraseology, but the broad fact at least must have been clear to her that in the event of her death without heirs, Scotland would be handed over to the house of Valois, or would be forced to redeem her independence at an enormous and ruinous cost. The best comment is that of Dr. Hay Fleming : " The young Queen—only in her sixteenth year—probably signed these deeds without fully realising their import. If so, her heedlessness gives a rude shock to the pane-

Excuses for Mary

gyrics of those apologists who speak of her precocity as phenomenal.”¹

One excuse that may be made for the Queen is that she had been trained from infancy in the habit of implicit, unquestioning obedience to her uncles of Guise. They had watched over her with the tenderest care: on their counsel she knew that her mother leaned in all emergencies, and they exercised at Court an almost autocratic power. How could she, a girl of fifteen, have dreamt of opposing these strong-willed men, especially in a matter where her personal desires must have seconded their wishes? Scotland was to her a remote realm, dimly remembered through the mists of childhood: it may not unreasonably have seemed to her that she was serving her people best by committing them, in the improbable event of her leaving no direct successor, to the strong guardianship of France rather than to contending factions of her nobility. The transference of the crown to Châtelherault, or as the deed vaguely puts it, “à aucuns seigneurs du pais,” opened up a prospect of civil war. Such arguments may have been suggested to the Queen with the Cardinal’s accustomed eloquence. She had been carefully schooled in gratitude as well as in obedience, and may have been sincerely willing to discharge an apparently illimitable debt by a deferred and illusory payment.

Vague and munificent donations were often made by great personages to relatives who had done them service. Thus Anne d’Este, before her marriage with Francis of Guise, bequeathed to the Cardinal Charles, who had arranged the union, the whole

¹ *Mary Queen of Scots*, p. 24, and see also note on p. 211.

Scotland and the Marriage

of the jewels that might be in her possession at the time of her death, if she left no children to his brother.¹

From all we know of Mary's girlhood, from the tone of extreme deference which marks the letters written to her mother when she was thirteen or fourteen, from the fact that her will never once seems to have crossed that of the King or the Cardinal, it may fairly be assumed that no compulsion was needed at Fontainebleau, on the Monday in Holy Week when she was called before high officials to sign these deeds of perilous import. Would pressure have been used if necessary? Was her hand held morally though not physically, in a grasp like that of Lord Lindsay's mailed glove at Lochleven? These are questions that we must surely answer in the affirmative.

The motives of the Guises in advising their niece are very easily read. Their position never needed strengthening more than at this moment when it seemed impregnably strong. The King was learning to dislike them, if only from the fact that their faces were constantly before him, while Montmorency's was absent. He must have viewed with jealous eyes the popularity of Francis, and he may with justice have blamed the Cardinal for stirring up the war which had cost him that daily refreshment of intercourse with the Constable on which his spirit subsisted. The Cardinal, in his prosperity, became unbearably arrogant, and his high, impatient temper never learned to "suffer fools gladly." Ominous indications may have warned the brothers that a Prince's favour is uncertain, unless it rests on personal

¹ René de Bouillé, vol. i. pp. 202, 203, note.

The Deaths at Dieppe

affection, and the signing of the deeds may have been planned as a magnificent gift which should conciliate Henry's favour. They must have reflected, also, that the women of their house had, with few exceptions, been blessed with large families, and that the young and blooming Mary was not likely to leave barren the great houses of Stuart and Valois.

The Scots Commissioners had come to France on a very trying mission. We scrutinise the names closely, asking who was man enough to bear the full weight of responsibility for the refusal of "the honours of Scotland," the crown, the sceptre, and the other regalia which were used in the coronation of a Scottish king. The Dauphin Francis never wore the crown of Scotland, for the Estates did not permit the regalia to leave the country. They suspected, with good reason, that the treasures towards which covetous eyes were straining from the other side of the Channel might never return to Edinburgh. In the pathetic pageant of the Palais de Justice no ship bore the symbols of Scottish independence.

The title "King of Scotland" was frankly allowed to the Dauphin, under the marriage-contract, and the Commissioners "swore allegiance to him during the subsistence of the marriage."¹

As autumn approached, the Commissioners set forward on their homeward journey. From Dieppe came the shocking news that sickness had overtaken them, and that the Bishop of Orkney was dead. Cassillis, Rothes, and Fleming succumbed to the malady, and poison was naturally suspected. Contemporary Scottish writers are in little doubt as to

¹ Dr. Hay Fleming, *Mary Queen of Scots*, p. 25.

Scotland and the Marriage

the reason of the outbreak, and to their testimony may be added that of De Thou.¹

The Commissioners who perished at Dieppe were probably victims of one of the epidemic maladies which were specially prevalent in seaports. In August 1561, the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine, before seeing their niece away from Calais, were attacked by an illness which roused suspicions of poisoning. There is no evidence for connecting the uncles of the Queen of Scots with the deaths of the four Commissioners.

In November 1558, the surviving colleagues appeared before the Scottish Parliament to render an account of their embassy. If these four had believed that their companions had perished by poison, would the Estates have consented to send the crown matrimonial to the King-Dauphin by the hands of some lords of the realm? The question may fairly be asked; but for sufficient reasons the crown matrimonial was not sent to France, and the twice repeated use of the word "allanerlie" in the Act of Parliament² suggests that the envoys may have

¹ De Thou says in book xx. of his History that the brothers of the Regent were suspected of poisoning the Scots delegates for the marriage. He pays a tribute to the dead—"tous illustres par leur vertu et par l'amour qu'ils avoient pour leur pais." The Lord James, he says, had been attacked by the same malady as the others, but because of his youth and good constitution he escaped death. He felt the effects of the malady, however, adds the historian, till the end of his life.

² Dr. Hay Fleming, *Mary Queen of Scots*, p. 26.

The *Diurnal of Occurrents* says: "Upoun the penult day of September, the zeir foirsaid, the commissionaris quhilk past into France for treiting of the quenis mariage, returnit and come in Scotland, quhairof the names ar befor specifiet, and the erle of Rothes and Cassillis, and James Lord Flemyng decessit in Deip; and the bischope of Orkney decessit on his returncing in the said toun of Deip alsua" (p. 52).

Peace Negotiations

warned the Regent and the Estates that the Dauphin's ill-health promised no long duration for the marriage.

The first letter written by Mary after her marriage was a commendation of the ambassadors to her mother.¹ Her praise is cordial, and gives no hint that the revels at the marriage were to end in a too realistic *danse macabre*. On September 16, she notified the death of the Bishop of Orkney at Dieppe,² and the illness of his companions. It was a sickly season. The Queen wrote: "As for the news of the Court, the King, the King my husband, and all my uncles are with the army, and all are well, thank God. There are many sicknesses in the camp, but these are beginning to decrease."

French statesmen, in the months following the marriage, were anxiously occupied in arranging the preliminaries of a European settlement. Proposals for a treaty were made in May 1558, in private interviews between the Cardinal Charles and the Dowager Duchess of Lorraine. The affection of Henry II. for Montmorency was the goading influence on the side of France. "I shall die happy,"³ wrote the King to the Constable, "if I can see a good peace, and the man whom I love and esteem more than any other in this world. Since this is so, do not hesitate to fix your ransom at any price, however high." The King, Montmorency, and Diane formed during the last year of the reign a powerful triumvirate opposed to the Guises. The King desired peace chiefly because it would bring back his war-worn general. He wrote to assure the Constable of the loyalty of the Duchess of Valentinois, and of the dangerous disposition of

¹ Labanoff, vol. i. p. 57.

² *Ibid.* p. 58.

³ F. Decrue, *Anne de Montmorency*, vol. ii. pp. 211-20.

A European Settlement

the Duke of Guise. "Monsieur de Guise does not want peace." He warned Montmorency, however, that no overt hostility must be shown to the Lorrainer. "Make pretence that you are very friendly with those who are with me; I say this to you not without reason."¹ Yet again Henry wrote: "Do what you can so that we may have peace. The greatest pleasure I could know would be to have a good peace and to see you at liberty."²

Giovanni Michiel, writing on November 2, 1555, noted that when Montmorency came to visit the King at Beauvais, Henry never loosened his hand during the time they were together. After their semi-public meeting in the chamber of Madame de Valentinois the King withdrew the Constable for two hours for private talk on state affairs. The friends supped together, and the King "had a bed prepared for his Excellency in the wardrobe adjoining his Majesty's chamber."³ Michiel remarked that even at that time, while the negotiations for peace were proceeding at Cercamp, an open rivalry had broken out between the houses of Guise and Montmorency.⁴ On November 15 he wrote of the enmity between Diane de Poitiers and the Cardinal of Lorraine, "she being united with the Constable that they are one and the same thing."⁵ The haughty favourite talked of the prelate who in his boyhood had served her so assiduously as "Master Charles."

The Guises were opposed to a dishonourable peace partly, perhaps, from patriotic motives, but chiefly

¹ F. Decrue, *Anne de Montmorency*, vol. ii. p. 211.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Venetian Calendar*, vol. vi. part iii. p. 1541.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 1545.

“ A Prisoners’ Peace ”

because the uplifting of Montmorency meant their decline. Michiel remarked on the grief and dejection of the Duke of Guise, who saw the fruits of his conquests slipping out of his hands.¹ He appears to have threatened that if the King did not confirm him in the charge of Grand Master, he would retire from his Majesty’s service and live in private. “ Although the King’s reply is not yet known,” wrote Michiel, “ the rivalry of these two Ministers is already on the verge of enmity and open hatred, and has passed the bounds of emulation, with no slight danger of some strange accidents occurring between them to the detriment of this kingdom.”²

A striking sentence occurs in Queen Mary’s letter of September 16th. “ They were hoping for a peace, but this is still so uncertain that I shall say nothing to you about it, except that they say the peace should not be arranged by prisoners like the Constable and Marshal Saint-André.”³

This talk of a “ prisoners’ peace ” must have been caught up by the Queen from her uncle Charles, for one of his complaints was that his proposals were frustrated by prisoners who wanted peace at any price. He said that the French were too accommodating, and approached the Spaniards with clasped hands. In September he wrote to Montmorency, “ As for making new offers, and extending our proposals, I do not see a single reason why the King should do it, and our negotiations will serve no other purpose than to give them something more every time.”⁴

¹ *Venetian Calendar*, vol. vi. part iii. p. 1546.

² *Ibid.* p. 1548.

³ Labanoff, vol. i. p. 59.

⁴ *Papiers d’État de Granvelle*, vol. i. p. 203. See also A. de Ruble, *Le Traité de Cateau-Cambrésis*, pp. 3-6.

A European Settlement

The death of Mary Tudor on November 17, 1558, interrupted the negotiations of Cercamp. Henry II. caused his daughter-in-law to be proclaimed in Paris as Queen of England, Scotland, and Ireland. The arms of England were assumed by Mary and Francis, and the Cardinal of Lorraine, as Melville says, caused the Queen's silver plate to be renewed and "pat theron the armories of England."¹ Dr. Wotton, writing to Cecil on January 9, 1559, blamed the Guises for pushing their niece's claims. "Therefore, whatever they shall say, sing or pipe, their interest is to increase the power of their niece the Queen of Scots and her posterity, which will be the chief staff and pillar that the house of Guise will have to trust to. And for this what could they wish for more than that England might be brought under France by the Queen of Scots' feigned title to the crown of England?"²

The plenipotentiaries reassembled at Cateau-Cambrésis, and on April 2nd and 3rd, treaties were signed between England and France on the one side, and between France and Spain on the other. Many singular proposals were put forward during the discussions. It was suggested, for example, that if the Dauphin and Mary Stuart had a daughter, she should marry Queen Elizabeth's son, although Elizabeth was not yet married. If such a union could be concluded in the future, Mary would relinquish all claim to England.³

The Treaty was considered, especially by the soldiers, to be highly dishonourable to France, which sur-

¹ *Memoirs*, p. 76.

² *Foreign Calendar*, "Elizabeth," vol. i. pp. 85, 86.

³ *Ibid.* p. 131. See also F. Decrue, *Année de Montmorency*, vol. ii. p. 224.

Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis

rendered all the Italian conquests of the last eighty years. Italian enterprises had, however, brought no permanent strength to the country, and had proved a drain on the national resources which could ill be borne. France kept the three bishoprics and Calais ; and it was arranged that Philip II. should marry Elizabeth of Valois, who had been offered at first for his son, Don Carlos ; and that Margaret, sister of Henry II., should wed the Duke of Savoy.

CHAPTER IX

THE COURT IN 1559

Marriage of the Duke of Lorraine with the Princess Claude of France—
The King and Queen Dauphin's share in the wedding festivities
—Ill-health of Francis and Mary—Preparations for the "Treaty"
marriages—Madame Margaret of France—Relations of the Con-
stable with the Huguenots—Rivalry between Montmorency and
the Guises—Revival of persecution.

ONE of Mary's child-companions, the Princess Claude of France, became a bride in the early days of 1559. She was born in 1547, and was a baby in arms when the Scots Queen came to France. Alone of the seven royal children who survived infancy, she was destined to leave a grandson to Catherine de' Medici. For the twelve-year-old girl a more attractive husband than the Dauphin had been chosen. Charles of Lorraine was a bright and charming boy, skilled in all the gallantries of the Court, graceful in person, kind-hearted and generous. The prince of Venetian literary portrait-painters, Giovanni Michiel, describes the young Duke's meeting with his mother in May 1558, under the guardianship of the Cardinal of Lorraine. He was told that he might choose freely, either to depart with his mother or to return to the French Court. "The Duke replied that he should not know how to live in any other place than where he had resided hitherto."¹ The Cardinal's attendants re-

¹ *Venetian Calendar*, vol. vi. part iii. p. 1497.

Marriage of the Princess Claude

ported that the Duchess became speechless, and almost fainted with joy when she saw that her boy was grown so agile, so graceful and agreeable in presence.¹ The worst calumniators of the Court of Henry II. cannot deny that it was a training-school for gallant gentlemen. The Duke was received, on his return to Court, with "infinite joy." Henry II. "again and again threw his arms round his neck and kissed him repeatedly, the Queen and the King-Dauphin doing the like, and in short the whole Court." Michiel adds that this brief absence had "sufficiently proved the wish for him which he had left behind, and the great love borne him by everybody."²

The boy and girl were betrothed on January 20, 1559, in presence of the ambassadors and great personages of the kingdom. They were married on Sunday, January 22, in Notre Dame, with the ceremonies used at the wedding of the Dauphin. The Duchy of Lorraine had voted 200,000 crowns as a wedding gift to its youthful lord, and the bride was to have 300,000 crowns as dowry. Michiel feared that the Duke must have squandered the greater part of his money in grandeur and generosity. A joust was performed at the back of the Hôtel of the Duke of Guise, in which the bridegroom was supported by the King, the Duke of Guise, and other princes. They were richly clad at his expense in cloth of gold and silver to match his livery.³

The opponents were led by the King-Dauphin, "who in like manner clad his fellow-jousters." The Duke gave costly fur-lined robes to the lords and ladies of the Court, including Mary Stuart. France

¹ *Venetian Calendar*, vol. vi. part iii.

² *Ibid.* p. 1498.

³ *Ibid.* vol. vii. p. 20.

The Court in 1559

was exhausted after costly wars, but no voice pleaded for economy. Michiel informs us that the Duke spent 7000 or 8000 ducats on the masquerade which followed the joust, and the King-Dauphin as much. No wonder that the Constable Montmorency preferred that the wedding of his son Damville to Mademoiselle de Bouillon (granddaughter of Diane de Poitiers) should be celebrated in the comparative quiet of Chantilly.

Queen Mary and her husband played their part in the festivities held in the Palace of the Tournelles, and in the Hôtels of Lorraine and Guise. Foreign ambassadors noted that during the nuptials the arms of the Dauphin's wife had been quartered with those of England.¹ The young couple had never been far removed from the Court during their first months of wedded life, and amid the national rejoicings over the peace of Cateau-Cambrésis, the precarious health of Francis and his girl-wife must have occasioned much anxiety to their relatives. The hopes of the house of Guise were centred on two delicate children.

The Dauphin had seemed fairly well in the autumn of 1558, when he accompanied his father to the camp near Amiens, but experienced physicians must have warned Henry II. that the constitution of his eldest son gave no promise of long life. Mary had gone into mourning for the Queen of England in the winter of 1558.² Her own sickliness was noted with satisfaction by Sir John Mason. Writing to Cecil on March 18, 1559, he said: "The Queen of Scots is very sick, and these men fear she will not long

¹ *Venetian Calendar*, vol. vii. p. 29.

² *Papal Negotiations*, p. 12.

Illness of Mary

continue. God take her to Him so soon as may please Him.”¹

Throckmorton, who represented the English Government in Paris, after the peace of Cateau-Cambrésis, mentioned the Queen's renewed illness.² On May 24, the English envoys for the peace “were conducted to the Scottish Queen, who was in a chamber with the King-Dauphin, to whom the Chamberlain presented the Queen's letters and commendations.” Throckmorton added: “Assuredly, Sir, the Scottish Queen in mine opinion looketh very ill on it, very pale and green, and withal short-breathed, and it is whispered here among them that she cannot long live.”³

A sad hint as to the Dauphin's mental feebleness is conveyed in the Ambassador's words, “Being admonished by the Constable, the Dauphin said he was very glad to see his father and the Queen in such amity, and would do all he could for the conservation of it.”⁴ The Constable warned the political envoys that the Queen was weak, and “seemed to be loath they should trouble her with long communication.”⁵ After a polite interchange of words, the strangers took their leave. On May 28, Henry II. ratified the oath of peace with England. Michiel says that the English representatives, when about to take leave, received a courier with an express commission from Queen Elizabeth, bidding them by no means forget to administer the same oath to the King and Queen Dauphin, as rulers of Scotland. This ceremony took place after evensong

¹ *Foreign Calendar*, “Elizabeth” vol. i. p. 179.

² *Ibid.* p. 271.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 272, 273.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 277.

⁵ *Ibid.*

The Court in 1559

on the same day, in the private chapel of the Louvre.¹

Mary's health continued very precarious through the summer of 1559. Writing on June 21, Throckmorton said that on the 18th she had been "evil at ease" in church, and was kept from fainting by wine brought from the altar. He had never seen her look so ill, and the French and Scots feared she could not long continue.²

Two friends of Mary's childhood were to leave the French Court in 1559, in obedience to the marriage settlements of Cateau-Cambrésis. One was her first companion, the Princess Elizabeth, who had been proposed as a bride for Edward VI. and for Don Carlos, and was now to be wedded to Philip II., a bridegroom of more than twice her years. The other was Madame Margaret, sister of Henry II., who at the mature age of thirty-five was to be united to the Duke of Savoy. Margaret was one of the most learned women of her time, and is said to have known all languages taught at the College of Navarre, except Hebrew. She did not possess the graceful literary gift of her aunt Margaret, sister of Francis I., but her solid erudition won the admiration of Michel de l'Hôpital. The Venetian Ambassador, Marino Cavalli, described her in 1546 as "sopra tutto erudita," for she understood Latin, Greek, and Italian. He was surprised that this lady, who was worthy of a great prince, should be unmarried at twenty-two.³ Brantôme tells us that her learning won for her the title of the Minerva

¹ *Venetian Calendar*, vol. vii. p. 90.

² *Foreign Calendar*, "Elizabeth," vol. i. p. 327.

³ Tommasco, *Relations des Ambassadeurs Vénitiens*, vol. i. p. 284.

The "Treaty" Marriages

of France, that her device was an olive-branch with which two serpents were entwined, and her motto "Rerum Sapientia Custos." It was the fashion among poets and learned men to dedicate their works to this appreciative patroness. Margaret supervised the studies of her nieces and of the Queen of Scots. Writing on April 25, 1559, to the Duke of Savoy, Mary spoke of the pleasure she experienced on account of "the alliance between you and my aunt, to whom, on account of her virtue and honour, and because of the favour which I have long received and still continue to receive from her, I am under great obligations." ¹

Preparations for the double wedding enlivened Paris in the months of May and June. The Cardinal of Lorraine was arranging a comedy at a cost of 30,000 or 40,000 francs. To outside observers he appeared entirely occupied with pomp and show. He was sent on a flying visit to Brussels to receive the oath of peace from Philip, and told the princes and others who were to accompany him that the more they exerted themselves to be well horsed and sumptuously clad, the better would he be pleased. ² "Nothing is talked of here but handsome and costly apparel." Charles received from Philip II. a service of gold and silver plate worth 15,000 crowns, and Paulo Tiepolo, writing from Brussels, says: "He has left here a very high character for being an adroit and prudent negotiator, and above all an eloquent one." ³

On his journeys between the Court and Brussels the Cardinal must have been thinking deeply and

¹ *Papal Negotiations*, p. 431.

² *Venetian Calendar*, vol. vii. p. 69.

³ *Ibid.* p. 87.

The Court in 1559

darkly. He knew that Diane and Montmorency were all-powerful with Henry II., and that their influence was quietly working against him. A mistress of sixty and a friend of sixty-six divided the affections of a King aged forty. The wedding of Damville to a granddaughter of Diane neutralised such influence as the Guises might possess through the marriage of Aumale to her daughter. In letters written to Montmorency during his captivity, Diane was not merely the mouthpiece of the King. She had words of comfort and hope to offer on her own behalf. "If you will remember my natural disposition, you will find that I am a friend in all the fortunes of the world." ¹

These two elderly people, from motives of affection as well as of self-interest, must have desired the long continuance of the reign of Henry II.; the fortunes of the Guises, on the other hand, were linked with those of the Dauphin and his bride. They had advised Henry to follow the example of Charles V., who saw his son crowned in his lifetime. A crowned son might perhaps become a menace for a reigning monarch.

Montmorency had long been labouring to maintain good terms with England, and after the Treaty his son Francis was one of the envoys sent to London to receive the oath from Elizabeth. The Constable entertained the English embassy at Chantilly and Écouen. When Throckmorton complained that Mary Stuart had assumed the arms of England, the Constable reminded him that Elizabeth had not abandoned the claims of her ancestors to bear those of France. "He wished," writes M. Decrue, "to smooth

¹ G. Guiffrey, *Lettres inédites de Diane de Poitiers*, p. 158.

Policy of the Constable

all differences. Praise of Queen Elizabeth was constantly in his mouth. He was inclined to further her marriage with the King of Sweden. As the Lorrainers linked their cause with that of the Queen of Scotland and the young King Francis, it seemed that the favourite of Henry II. ought to attach his own cause to that of Mary Stuart's rival. The English alliance might make up for the reverse of Saint-Quentin; but the English alliance carried with it the Protestant alliance, and Montmorency did not wish for that."¹

The Constable may not have desired a formal league with any Protestant sovereign, but he returned from his captivity in no mood to persecute at home. His nephew Andelot, who had been denounced as a heretic, deprived of the colonelship of the infantry and imprisoned at Melun, was brought back to Court at Montmorency's entreaty. Antoine de Bourbon, first Prince of the blood royal, was the real head of the national party in France, and although long-standing disputes had alienated him from the Constable, the veteran statesman must have regarded the Bourbons, and especially their head, the King of Navarre, "as a dyke which would keep back the overwhelming inrush of Guise." The King of Navarre, the restless and inconstant Antoine, was at this moment patronising the Huguenots. In the summer of 1558, he and his wife Jeanne d'Albret had joined in the psalm-singing in the Pré-aux-Clercs, which the Catholics regarded as an open avowal of heresy. Though the Constable did propose to the Duke of Alba (June 1559) that France and Spain should unite against the Swiss, destroy Geneva, and afterwards

¹ F. Decrue, *Anne de Montmorency*, vol. ii. p. 233.

The Court in 1559

make war upon the Turks,¹ some of his near relatives and natural allies were so far compromised that he could not willingly have given his sanction to the persecution which the Cardinal of Lorraine desired to initiate on French soil. Peace with England and the restoration of order at home were his political desires. He discouraged any interference with Scotland on the ground of religion alone, thereby placing himself in sharp antagonism with the Guises, who advised their sister to put down heresy with a strong hand. In sending Melville to Scotland he used these significant words: "Gif it be only religion that moves them, we mon commit Scottismens saules unto God, for we have anough ado to reull the consciences of our awen contre men. It is the obedience dew unto ther lawfull Quen with ther bodyes that the King desyres."² He suggested that if M. d'Oysel was not liked, the King would send another lieutenant to Scotland, meaning, as Melville supposed, M. d'Andelot his nephew. Henry II. said, laying his hand on Melville's shoulder, "Do as my gossop hes directed, and I sall reward you."

The letter written by Henry to Pope Paul IV., and dated June 29,³ promised drastic action against heresy in Scotland. "A large and sufficient posse or force of French soldiers, both infantry and cavalry," was to be dispatched immediately, and a second large army was to follow if necessary. "Our confidence," wrote Henry, "is in God, who is signally offended at this wretched pest of ruffians. He will so provide that our most dear and well-beloved son and daughter, the King and Queen Dauphin, and the Queen Dowager their mother, with our aid and

¹ F. Decruc, vol. ii. p. 249.

² *Memoirs*, pp. 80, 81.

³ *Papal Negotiations*, pp. 17-20.

Threats of Persecution

succour, will overcome these heretics and schismatics, and force and power will be in their hands to chastise and punish their great temerity and arrogance."

He further promised to "correct, extirpate, and exterminate" the heretics "with all demonstration of exemplary rigour, and so to cleanse the said realm of infidels, disturbers and enemies of the common good and general peace."

If this letter was not actually dictated by the Cardinal of Lorraine, the policy was probably inspired by him, but the promises made to Paul iv. hardly correspond with the cautious instructions given to Melville and Béthencourt.¹ Henry ii. could ill spare either soldiers or money for a Scottish war. As we shall see in a later chapter, the State coffers at his death did not contain sufficient money to pay the royal creditors. The dowries of the Princesses Claude and Elizabeth, the costly expenditure for the double wedding of Elizabeth and Margaret, were a heavy drain on Henry's resources, and without peace recuperation was impossible.

It was not surprising that the Duke of Guise, Brissac, Montluc, Tavannes, and other military leaders should regret a peace by which France surrendered nearly two hundred places that had been taken in the recent wars. Such writers as Agrippa d'Aubigné and Pasquier join in the chorus of lamentation. But a worse disaster than the loss of territory now menaced France. The Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis opened a new era of persecution and ushered in the period of the wars of religion.

¹ *Papal Negotiations*, p. xxxiii.

CHAPTER X

“ THOSE OF THE RELIGION ”

“ Cast down, but not destroyed ”—The Huguenots in 1559—The year of reformation—The *coup d'état* of Henry II.—Arrest of members of the Parlement of Paris.

ON the staircase of the Martelet at Loches there are engraved some broken Latin words which might sum up the history of the Huguenots until 1559. M. Edmond Gautier, the learned modern scholar who has explored for us the deep and awful darkness of these prisons, gives a facsimile of the inscription and bids us reconstruct it with the help of 2 Cor. iv. 8, 9. The key-words are “ sed non.” The letters run as follows :—

Sed non
Patimur sed non der-
Humiliamur sed non co-
dejicimur sed
perimus.

The full Latin text is quoted by M. Gautier :—

“ *In omnibus tribulationem patimur, sed non angustiamur : a poriamur sed non dcstituimur :*

“ *Persecutionem patimur, sed non derclinquimur : humiliamur sed non confundimur : dejicimur sed non perimus.*”

We know these beautiful words best in the language of our English Version : “ We are troubled on every

The Huguenots in 1559

side, yet not distressed : we are perplexed, but not in despair : persecuted, but not forsaken : cast down, but not destroyed."

As M. Gautier points out, the words "Humiliamur, sed non confundimur," have been added to the sacred text.¹

This is the true motto of the Huguenots in the middle of the sixteenth century. "It was no common hand," says M. Gautier, "which traced in graceful and accurate lettering that proud protest, full of threatening and defiance."

The name of the writer is unknown,—he lived in all probability before the reign of Henry II.,—but his words are as sacred as the motto of the burning bush.

The Church of Paris was founded in 1555, in the house of a gentleman living in the Pré-aux-Clercs. The number of Protestants in France, in the year of Mary Stuart's marriage, was reckoned by Calvin at 300,000, and by the Venetian Ambassador, Soranzo, at 400,000.² On May 26, 1559, the first national synod was held, and delegates attended from all parts of the country.

Contemporary Protestants believed that in the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis there was a secret clause which pledged Henry II. and Philip II. to root out heresy in their respective countries. No proof has been discovered of the existence of such a clause, but the Huguenots were right in apprehending a new era of persecution.³ If Montmorency and Alba had

¹ *Histoire du Donjon de Loches*, p. 96.

² See for many valuable statistics Professor Erich Marcks' *Gaspard von Coligny*, p. 132.

³ In the first dispatch which Throckmorton wrote from France (May 15, 1559) he mentioned that he was certainly informed that 50,000 persons in Gascoigne, Guyenne, Anjou, Poitiers, Normandy,

“Those of the Religion”

led a united army against Geneva, their swords would have been turned against the bosoms of many noble Frenchmen. From 1556 there had been a steady stream of emigrants from England, Italy, and France into the city of refuge. After the catastrophe of Saint-Quentin, a whisper went abroad that the lives of the heretics must be a sin-offering to the offended Deity. This explains the ferocity with which the Protestants of the rue Saint-Jacques were punished in the autumn of 1557. While the war lasted, however, French gentlemen of all religious sympathies must be united under the flag. The imprisonment of Andelot at Meaux and Melun was an isolated incident: the King, probably ashamed of his violence, brought the young soldier back to Court at the entreaty of the Constable. It is a curious paradox of the time that the Guises, heads of the persecuting party, were the most zealous adherents of the continuance of the war which made persecution impossible except in sporadic outbursts; while Montmorency, the uncle of the man who was to lead French Protestantism—Gaspard de Coligny—was the maker of the peace which opened the way to persecution. However severely we may blame the Cardinal of Lorraine for his violence against the Reformers, he was the least responsible of the French plenipotentiaries for the humiliating peace of Cateau-Cambrésis. In the negotiations he was overborne by the Constable and his master.¹

In the year 1559 long-smouldering religious passions burst into flame beyond the borders of France.

and Maine had subscribed to a confession of religion conformable to that of Geneva, “which they mind shortly to exhibit to the King” (*Foreign Calendar*, “Elizabeth,” vol. i. pp. 255, 256).

¹ He is blamed, however, for letting it be known in private that France would surrender the Italian conquests.

Henry II. as Persecutor

The month of May saw the arrival of John Knox in Edinburgh and the wrecking of the churches at Perth. "Before the end of the month there were two armed hosts in the field. There were more sermons, and where Knox preached the idols fell and monks and nuns were turned adrift."¹ In the same month took place the hideous *auto-de-fé* at Valladolid. The negotiations of Cateau-Cambrésis, it must have seemed to contemporaries, had brought not peace, but sword and fire.

Henry II., unwilling to be outdone by his new ally Philip II., prepared the *coup d'état* of June 10, when he arrested at a sitting of the Parlement of Paris, the counsellors Anne du Bourg and Louis du Faur.

The best contemporary account of the incident is that of the historian Pierre de la Place.²

Complaint was made that the Criminal Chamber of *La Tournelle* did not proceed with sufficient rigour against heretics. The Cardinal of Lorraine accused the judges of conniving at the escape of the criminals.³ President Séguier was blamed for undue leniency, and when he, with some of his colleagues, went to ask the King for the payment of salaries which were nearly two years in arrear, the Cardinal stepped forward and said, "I think there is no desire to keep back your wages, if you will faithfully carry out your duties in all respects." Séguier answered that he was not aware that there had been any neglect of duty on their part. "Yes," said the Cardinal, "you do not punish

¹ Professor Maitland in *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. ii. p. 573.

² *Commentaires de l'Estat de la Religion et République* (Panthéon littéraire).

³ Pierre de la Place, p. 11.

“Those of the Religion”

the heretics.” The President responded that the heretics had been so well punished that of all the many persons who had been in the prisons only three were left. “A fine thing!” answered Charles. “You have got rid of them by sending them to be judged by their bishops! . . . You are to blame because not Poitiers alone, but the whole of Poitou as far as Bordeaux, Toulouse, Provence, and France in general is filled with that vermin, which increases and multiplies in the expectation of your support.”

The opposing sympathies of the Court and the Parlement came at last into sharp collision. Henry II., accompanied by the Constable, the Cardinals of Lorraine and Guise, and many other notables, attended the sitting of the Parlement on June 10 in the monastery of the Augustines. Throckmorton reported that a hundred and twenty counsellors and Presidents were present, and that “the Cardinal of Lorraine earnestly enveighed against the Protestants, requesting execution to be made of them and confiscation of their goods.”¹

Throckmorton’s account does not correspond with that of Pierre de la Place, who informs us that the King was the first speaker, and that he was followed by the Cardinal de Sens, Keeper of the Seals. Henry said that as God had been pleased to give him a peace, the stability of which was being confirmed by marriages, he felt it his duty to seek a remedy for the divisions of religion, for this was the thing which he believed would be most pleasing to God. The Cardinal of Sens asked that the discussion which was proceeding on the question of religion should be continued in his Majesty’s presence, and that the counsellors

¹ *Foreign Calendar*, “Elizabeth,” vol. i. p. 309.

The *Coup d'État* of June 1559

should give their opinions frankly.¹ The members of the Parlement used the gracious permission as freely as it was given. The first speakers named by Pierre de la Place who expressed their views in the royal presence were Claude Viole, Anne du Bourg, and Louis du Faur, who pleaded for a suspension of the persecution. Pierre de la Place does not inform us that any reference to Charles of Lorraine was made by the orators, but Throckmorton mentions that Anne du Bourg attacked "the Cardinals of the realm, who had great revenues and were so negligent in their charge that the flocks committed to their cures were not instructed. The Cardinal was so dashed that he stood still and replied not; the King likewise was offended, and the Constable (with these terms, 'Vous faictez la bravade') asked how they durst say so to the King."²

The heroic counsellors were not intimidated by Montmorency's cry of wrath. "They answered, that being admitted counsellors of that Court, they must discharge their conscience, the rather that the King was present; that the reformation must not begin with the common sort, but must touch the greatest persons of the realm." If they had aimed their first dart at the Church, the second was directed unmistakably at the throne.

When the discussion ended, the Keeper of the Seals rose and whispered to the King in private. After some delay, caused by the reading of papers by the notaries and the passing of documents from

¹ Pierre de la Place, p. 13.

² *Foreign Calendar*, "Elizabeth," vol. i. p. 309. Throckmorton, it must be remembered, was an enemy of the Guises, while Pierre de la Place, though himself of Huguenot sympathies, appears to have had a kindly feeling towards them.

“ Those of the Religion ”

hand to hand, Henry summoned the Constable, and ordered him to arrest Louis du Faur and Anne du Bourg. They were led to the Bastille by the Comte de Montgomery, Captain of the Guards. Three other counsellors were afterwards arrested. All were shut up in separate cells, and closely guarded. Books, paper, and pens were forbidden to them, nor might they hold any communication with their friends. Against Anne du Bourg, who had hinted not obscurely at his relations with Madame de Valentinois, Henry was violently enraged. Forgetful of the dreadful scene from which he had shrunk in 1549, he swore that he would see him burned. While Paris was occupied with the splendid preparations for the double wedding, the five prisoners awaited martyrdom in their dungeons.

Various conjectures were afloat as to the reasons for this severity. Some thought that the King wished to please Philip II. and the Duke of Savoy; others that he needed money, and meant to obtain it by confiscations; others, again, that the old rivalry had broken out between the Guises and Montmorency. President Séguier, it was observed, was a personal friend of the Constable.¹

In his dispatch of May 23, Throckmorton had noted that “ the French King, after the marriages, minds to make a journey to Poictou, Gascoigne, Guienne, and other places, for the repressing of religion, and to use the extremest persecution he may against the Protestants in his countries, and the like in Scotland, and that with celerity, immediately after the finishing of these ceremonies.”²

¹ *Foreign Calendar*, “ Elizabeth,” vol. i. p. 309.

² *Ibid.* p. 272.

CHAPTER XI

THE DEATH OF HENRY II.—MARY STUART QUEEN- CONSORT OF FRANCE

The noontide spectre—Alba, Orange, and Egmont in Paris—The royal marriages—The Palace of the Tournelles—Rejoicings in Paris—The prisoners in the Bastille—The wedding jousts—Mary and the arms of England—The fatal tournament—Signs and omens—The dying King—Days of suspense—Arrival of Ruy Gomez—Death of Henry II.—The Guises take Francis and Mary to the Louvre.

THE most terrible of spectres, according to ancient superstition, was the ghost that appeared at noonday. That shadow was hovering over Paris in the June days of 1559, but it was not till after the catastrophe that the visions and dreams were recalled. Scarcely had the doors of the Bastille clanged behind the bold counsellors, when Henry II. was summoned to receive the Duke of Alba, who was to act as his master's proxy at the wedding of the Princess Elizabeth. On June 16, the Spaniards were received at Saint-Denis by the Cardinal of Lorraine, at the gates of Paris by the foreign Princes and the sons of Montmorency.

In Alba's train rode William of Nassau, who was, like Alba, one of the State hostages. Who could have guessed that the gay, pleasure-loving, extravagant young nobleman was destined one day to be the deliverer of the Netherlands? Not till long afterwards did he adopt his famous motto, "Sævis

Death of Henry II.

tranquillus in undis," but even now he kept his head amid the excitements of Paris, and was able coolly to survey the new situation produced by the Treaty. We learn from his *Apologia* that at this time he first became aware, through the King's confession at a hunting party, of a secret understanding between Henry and Philip to crush heresy in their dominions. Though himself at the time a Catholic, he resolved that he would seek to drive "this vermin of Spaniards" out of his country.

Another State hostage was Count Egmont, a hero of Saint-Quentin, on whom the Parisians can have looked with no friendly eyes.

Gaspard de Coligny acted with his cousin, Francis de Montmorency, as the Constable's deputy in entertaining the illustrious guests.¹ What communications may he have held in private with Orange and Egmont? All three were nominally Catholics, but in the breasts of each burned the flame of patriotism. Coligny and Orange were to win their places in the foremost rank of world-heroes, while Egmont redeemed all vacillations by his gallant death. Coligny and William of Nassau separated themselves very slowly and cautiously from the old religion. Calvin's letter, written during the Admiral's captivity at Ghent, proves that he could not reckon as securely on the head of the house of Châtillon as on Charlotte of Laval, Coligny's wife. Though he had avoided attending the Mass for the peace at Notre Dame when the English Ambassadors were in Paris, a certain hesitation still marked the Admiral's position towards the Reformers. He, as well as Egmont and Orange, might have expressed his inmost feelings at this crisis

¹ Decrue, vol. ii. p. 250.

Festivities in Paris

in the words which Goethe, in *Egmont*, puts into the lips of Margaret of Parma : " Oh, what are we great ones on the wave of human affairs ? We think we can control it, and it drives us hither and thither, up and down." ¹

The serious talk between Alba and Montmorency turned on the poverty of their respective masters, the prospects of an expedition to Geneva or Algiers, the growing audacity of the Reformers in Scotland. We find the Constable and his relatives more prominent in these days than the uncles of Mary Stuart. The Cardinal of Lorraine disliked Alba, and probably regretted the absence of the sagacious Bishop of Arras, whom he could meet on common ground.

The real business of the hour was amusement. On Thursday, June 22, the Duke of Alba, invested, as Philip's representative, with the insignia of royalty, gave his hand to Princess Elizabeth in Notre Dame. The nuptial benediction was pronounced by the Bishop of Paris.

Poor as Philip might be at the moment, he had lavished costly gifts on French nobles and statesmen. Besides his present to the Cardinal of Lorraine, he had given jewels, furniture, and horses to the Constable and his son Damville, while Ruy Gomez was expected in Paris, with ornaments for the bride. The sum of 1,100,000 crowns was to be spent in Paris on the festivities.² Every day was given up to tournaments, every night to feasting.

¹ " O was sind wir Grossen auf der Woge der Menschheit ? Wir glauben sie zu beherrschen, und sie treibt uns auf und nieder, hin und her."

² Decrue, vol. ii. p. 250.

Death of Henry II.

The Court was lodged in the ill-omened Palace of the Tournelles, the royal residence where the mad King Charles VI. had played at cards, and where the Duke of Bedford had ruled as Regent for the King of England. This turreted mansion was situated on the present Place Royale, and its rambling, old-world corridors and staircases contained nesting-places for a large household. Few changes had been made in the Hôtel since the time of the Duke of Bedford, and its chief glory was still the famous "Galerie des Courges," painted for Bedford in 1423.

The almost delirious intoxication of the marriage weeks in Paris can best be realised from Joachim du Bellay's nuptial ode. The chorus,

"O Hymen, Hymenee,
O nuict bien fortunee,"

sounds like "a sweep of lute-strings, laughs and whiffs of song"—late music floating to the Palace windows from boats on the river. The praises of Mary Stuart were sung as loudly as those of the brides. Mary and her husband were to play a part in the festivities second only to that of the King and Queen. As the June sunlight flooded the narrow, tortuous streets of central Paris, a feeling of exuberant joy must have possessed all classes of the people. The double marriage was the pledge of a stable and lasting peace. Tradesmen might hope to recoup themselves for the sacrifices of the war: the burden of taxation would be lifted. The ring of the mason's hammer on the new Louvre buildings would replace the din of arms. As the talk of Spaniards and Flemings was heard amid the closely crowded throngs, the

Bad News from Scotland

populace must have felt that the Italian conquests were cheaply surrendered at the price of this new alliance with the richest world-power. Might not France now share in the treasures of ocean enterprise?

The prisoners in the Bastille were forgotten. From their dismal cells they must have heard the sound of drums and trumpets, and the trampling of horse in the Rue Saint-Antoine.

Preparations for the jousts had for weeks filled every moment that was not occupied with business. Throckmorton reported that the sickly Dauphin Francis, as well as the King, practised every day "at the tilt."¹ It had been a month of trying ceremonies for the heir to the throne and his wife. On June 11 they were present at the wedding of the Duke de Bouillon to Mademoiselle de Montpensier,² and they attended the fatiguing service at Notre Dame for the ratification of the peace with Spain.³ They must have heard the dismal reports from Scotland, brought through Béthencourt, the unwelcome news that the Earl of Argyle with other nobles had raised 20,000 men in defence of the preachers, and that the Queen Dowager, with Châtelherault, were able to meet them with but 5000. Even in these thin ranks there was suspicion and anxiety, for "the Queen Dowager doubts whether she may trust the said Duke."⁴ Queen Elizabeth's Council, on the other hand, were pressing Throckmorton to find out from Montmorency why Mary Stuart had dared to quarter the arms of England with those of

¹ Forbes, *Public Transactions*, vol. i. p. 122.

² *Foreign Calendar*, "Elizabeth," vol. i. p. 310.

³ *Ibid.* p. 326.

⁴ *Ibid.*

Death of Henry II.

Scotland and France. The Constable, while pleading his own captivity at the time of the wedding as a sufficient personal excuse, could only reiterate the familiar argument, "If Elizabeth bears the arms of France, why may not Mary bear those of England?"

The marriage-contract of Margaret of Valois, sister of the King, was signed on June 27, and was celebrated by a three days' tournament. On June 30 the King entered the lists. Perhaps he wished to show the Spanish envoys that one King in Europe did not imitate the sedentary, clerk-like habits of Philip II.

It may be safely asserted that no Frenchman desired the death of Henry II. He had endeared himself to the nobility by his lavish generosity, and still more by his leadership in every manly sport. The mildness and gentleness of his disposition won tributes even from the Protestants whom he persecuted. His moral character compared on the whole favourably with that of most contemporary princes, for it was rooted in fidelity to the mistress and the friend of his youth. Their seniority of half a lifetime (as lives then lasted) makes the relationship the more pathetic. United in a forced marriage to one of the most hated women of history, Henry had turned instinctively to choose his own companions.

The state of the King's health gave every promise of a long reign, though Throckmorton reported in May that he had been dangerously ill "with a disease called vertigo," brought on by over-exercise at tennis and other pastimes.¹ He had been troubled on other

¹ *Foreign Calendar*, "Elizabeth," vol. i. p. 256.

The Fatal Tournament

occasions with symptoms of giddiness, and it is possible that fatigue and a slight recurrence of faintness may have affected him on the day of the fatal tournament.

He mounted on June 30 his horse "Le Malheureux," a present from the Duke of Savoy. For his personal safety the King had always been reckless. On warlike expeditions he took his place in the trenches with the common soldiers, and Montmorency once said to him, "If you persist in acting so, a King's life is worth no more to us than that of the bird upon the branch."¹

The four challengers on June 30 were the King, who wore the black and white of Diane de Poitiers, the Duke of Guise, who wore red and white in honour of a lady unknown, the Duke of Ferrara, in yellow and red, and the Duke of Nemours, in yellow and black.² The yellow and black, adds Brantôme, were the symbols of enjoyment and fidelity, and the hint is plainly given that this great knight, who was loved of the loveliest, had already stolen the affections of the Duchess of Guise.

All four princes acquitted themselves gallantly before the eyes of hundreds of onlookers, but as the afternoon was declining and the tournament was almost finished, Henry suddenly challenged the Comte de Montgomery to break a lance with him. Montgomery, as Brantôme tells us, excused himself, but the King, annoyed by his answers, commanded him to obey his sovereign's will. Catherine de' Medici, who had been disturbed on the previous night by bodeful dreams, sent two messengers in succession to implore her husband for her sake to give up the

¹ Brantôme, vol. iii. p. 249.

² *Ibid.* p. 271.

Death of Henry II.

dangerous sport, since it was time to finish. Henry replied that he would break but one lance more in Catherine's honour. Turning to the Duke of Savoy, the Queen begged him to entreat on her behalf with her husband. "Tell him," she said, "that he cannot excel the deeds he has already done to-day, and now he must join the ladies." Nothing availed to turn the King from his purpose.

Margaret of Valois, the youngest daughter of Catherine de' Medici, tells that her mother was accustomed to have visions on the eve of important events. "On the night before that wretched tournament, she dreamt that she saw my late father wounded in the eye, just as it happened to him ; and on awakening, she begged him several times over not to enter the lists that day, and to be satisfied with watching the tournament without taking part in it."

Thankful as he would have been to escape so perilous an honour, Montgomery dared not decline the King's positive orders. Henry would probably have disgraced the Captain of the Scottish Guard had he persisted in his refusal. In the shock of meeting, the lance of the young soldier struck his opponent's breastplate with such violence that it was broken, and a splinter entered above the King's right eye. Throckmorton says that the unlucky Gabriel de Lorges gave the King "such a counterbuff, as he drove a splinte right over his eye on his right side ; the force of which stroke was so vehement and the pain he had withall so great, as he was much astonished and had great ado (with reling to and from) to kepe himself on horseback ; and his horse in like manner dyd somewhat yeld. Wherupon with all expedition he was unarmed in the field, even against the place

The King's Mortal Wound

where I stode . . . I noted him to be very weake, and to have the sens of all his lymmes almost benommed, for being caryed away, as he lay along, nothing covered but his face, he moved neither hand nor fote, but laye as one amazed." ¹

The wounded sovereign was carried into the Palace of the Tournelles. At first the medical reports were favourable. Montmorency wrote a reassuring letter to Queen Elizabeth, expressing the hope that "the worst that shall happen will be the loss of his eye." ²

"It is a marvel," wrote Throckmorton, "to see how the noblemen, gentlemen and ladies do lament the misfortune, and contrarywise how the townsmen and people do rejoyce. *Nemo undique beatus*. They let not openly to say the King's dissolute life and his tyranny to the professors of the Gospel hath procured God's vengeance." ³

It is uncertain whether Henry spoke a word after receiving his fatal wound or during the course of his illness. Vincent Carloix mentions in the *Memoirs of Vieilleville* that he said faintly that he was a dead man. According to Brantôme, he said the wound was nothing. De Thou thinks it is doubtful whether he spoke at all. Agrippa d'Aubigné says: "As they were carrying the King away, he turned his face towards the Bastille, and the words fell from his lips with a deep sigh, that he had unjustly persecuted the good men who were imprisoned there." ⁴ The Cardinal of Lorraine, who was near him, caught up

¹ Forbes, *Public Transactions*, i. 151.

² *Foreign Calendar*, "Elizabeth," vol. i. p. 345.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 347, 348.

⁴ *Histoire Universelle*, édition de la Société de l'Histoire de France, vol. i. p. 238.

Death of Henry II.

these words, and said, taking another view, that it was the devil who had inspired them."

The gates of the Hôtel des Tournelles were closely guarded after the King had been borne within. The servants of the nobility were ordered to remain at a distance; among the guests, only the Dukes of Savoy and Alba and the Prince of Orange were permitted to enter. The Constable, the Duke of Guise, his brother Charles, and the Duke of Savoy remained in attendance all night in the sick-chamber, and in the morning it was reported that Henry had had "a very evil rest."¹ It is possible that the King never recovered clear consciousness after his wound, though he lingered for ten days. The utmost caution was observed in the bulletins as to his state.

Montmorency had assured Elizabeth that the first and second dressings of the wound "appeared to give good hope that the result would be satisfactory," but as days went on, the surgeons could add no reassuring intelligence. The shadow of a great fear enveloped the city. The decorations on the Louvre, the Tournelles, and Notre Dame were torn down. Throckmorton spoke the mind of all Parisians when he wrote: "Thus God makes Himself known, that in the very midst of these triumphs suffers this heaviness to happen."²

Ruy Gomez reached Paris on July 5. He had expected, no doubt, to be the gayest of the gay in a laughing and festal throng. He found a city hushed and tearful. "There was marvellous great lamentations and weeping both of men and women." Philip's favourite Minister was admitted at once, booted and spurred as he was, into the royal bed-chamber, and

¹ *Foreign Calendar*, "Elizabeth," vol. i. p. 348.

² *Ibid.*

His Last Hours

is said to have talked to the King for two hours, but this is the gossip of outsiders. It is probable that the King, by July 5, was past talking to any one. Vesalius, the celebrated doctor of Charles v., and now Court physician and surgeon to Philip II., took the case in charge, and vainly sought to treat the terrible wound, in which splinters from the lance must have remained.

Even while the King lay dying, the spirit of persecution was active. Throckmorton, in one of the last letters written during the reign, mentions that the Bishops and doctors of the Sorbonne had condemned Anne de Bourg as a heretic, that he was already degraded, and was shortly to be executed. "Great lamentation is made for him, for he is both a godly, virtuous, and great learned man." The Duke of Savoy, at the entreaty of his bride, Madame Margaret, had pleaded for his life, but although the Duke was the bridegroom of the hour, he could by no means procure pardon for the unhappy counsellor. Had the King been well, he might possibly have yielded to the solicitations of his sister. Personal bitterness against Anne du Bourg accounted for the implacable severity shown towards him. The other counsellors who had been arrested were all spared. "The rest who were committed with him at the first (being men that mind to live in the world) have liberties to go abroad under sureties and will do well enough," says Throckmorton.¹ Diane de Poitiers,

¹ *Foreign Calendar*, "Elizabeth," vol. i. p. 365. On July 13, Throckmorton wrote: "On the 12th, in the midst of these great matters, two men and a woman were executed for religion; on the 13th, proclamation is made that all who speak against the Church or the religion now used in France shall be brought before the Bishops, who are to do execution upon them" (*Ibid.* p. 380).

Death of Henry II.

according to this narrative, had seized upon the property confiscated from the heretics who had fled from Paris.

The death-bed of Henry II. might well have been haunted, as was that of his son Charles IX., by images of death and agony, but there is no authentic record of the last words from his lips, whether of penitence or threatening. On July 8, he was said to be "somewhat feverous," and the physicians spoke doubtfully of "indicatory days." Those within the Palace must have known that the case was hopeless. On July 10, after a reign of twelve years and three months, Henry II. passed away. The Constable, the Cardinal de Châtillon, and the Marshal Saint-André remained at the Tournelles as guardians of the body, while the Guises removed the young King and Queen to the Louvre. It is said that on the rich tapestry, representing the conversion of St. Paul, which hung over the King's death-bed, these words were embroidered: "Saul, cur me persecueris?" "Saul, why persecutest thou Me?" The Constable Montmorency, according to the story, ordered the hangings to be changed.

The marriage of Margaret to the Duke of Savoy was privately celebrated on July 8 at midnight.

The great hall of the Tournelles, which had been prepared for balls, masquerades, and ballets, was transformed into a death-chamber. The triumphal arches and impromptu stages were thrown down.¹

On the day of Henry's death the Florentine Envoy, Leone Ricasoli, recalled the story that when the Cardinal of Lorraine was in Rome, he caused a sooth-

¹ D'Aubigné, vol. i. p. 239. Catherine de' Medici caused the ill-omened Palace of the Tournelles to be destroyed in 1575.

“The Judgments of God”

sayer to take the King's horoscope, and had been warned that Henry must beware, in his fortieth year, of engaging in single combats, for there was danger that he should lose his life, or at least his right eye.¹ Nostradamus, also, had darkly prophesied a great catastrophe.

On July 1, a Protestant minister wrote to Calvin that it would be known in a few days whether the King had a chance of recovery. He added: “The judgments of God are a deep abyss, which is yet illumined sometimes by a light more brilliant than that of the sun.”

¹ *Négociations diplomatiques de la France avec la Toscane*, vol. iii. p. 401.

CHAPTER XII

THE REIGN OF THREE KINGS

Francis II. rules under the Guises—The changed world—Fall of Montmorency and Diane—Position of the Queen Mother of Mary Stuart—The royal Seal—Funeral of Henry II.—Illness of Queen Mary—Effacement of the King of Navarre—The Cardinal Pope and King.

AT the time of his father's death Francis II. had reached the age of fifteen and a half, and was held to have attained his majority. The people knew, however, that he was feeble in mind and body, and it was whispered that July 11 would be known in the calendar as the Festival of the Three Kings. The Guises, who now held a regal authority as the uncles of Mary Stuart, felt that the hour of death was not the best place for the fragile boy and girl who had been called so suddenly to great responsibilities. Anne de Montmorency might walk by the side of his kind master, adjust the drapery hangings and trim the funeral candles, but the Duke and the Cardinal carried their young master into the sunlight, and set themselves to the tasks of a new world. To the Louvre were conducted also the Queen, the Queen Mother and the younger royal children. Important changes were rapidly effected. Bertrand, a friend of Diane de Poitiers, was forced to relinquish the Seals, and the Chancellorship was conferred on Ollivier, a man of ability and moderate

“The House of Guise Rules”

views, who possessed the confidence of the Cardinal of Lorraine.

Diane de Poitiers departed to an honourable exile. That wise lady had made friends for herself in the families of Guise and Montmorency, and every possible trial was spared her. Mary Stuart, according to our Ambassador, sent to the Duchess of Valentinois, demanding an inventory of the Crown jewels.¹ Diane appears to have acted with her usual sagacity. She was asked to exchange her castle of Chenonceaux for Chaumont, and she did not again present herself before the widowed Catherine; but in the great alliances of her children and grandchildren she had built up a rampart against the storm.

On July 13, Throckmorton wrote to Queen Elizabeth: “The House of Guise rules; nothing further is known till the King of Navarre’s coming, which is uncertain, being still in Guyenne.”² The Duke of Guise presided over the Constable’s table; the Cardinal occupied the Constable’s room. “The Queen of Scotland,” according to Throckmorton, “is a great doer here and takes all upon her.”³

Catherine de’ Medici knew that the position of the “uncles of the King” was at this moment unassailable. They were the ablest leaders in the country, popular with the people,⁴ accustomed to the conduct of affairs. With rare good sense, the Italian Queen realised that she could not fight single-handed against these powerful men. The princes of the blood were of far inferior mould, intellectually and morally. Within a month, the Guises had firmly established themselves, and

¹ *Foreign Calendar*, “Elizabeth,” vol. i. p. 379.

² *Ibid.* p. 377.

³ *Ibid.* p. 379.

⁴ D’Aubigné, vol. i. p. 240.

The Reign of Three Kings

Catherine was sheltering under their wing. The Marshal Saint-André conciliated the Ministers by offering his only daughter, the wealthiest heiress in France, in marriage to one of the Duke's sons.¹

On the day after his accession, Francis II. signified to the Council and to a deputation from the Parlement of Paris that he had conferred upon the Duke of Guise the charge of military affairs, and on the Cardinal the control of the finances. To what other statesman it may be asked, could he have turned with the same confidence? He chose the best ability at his disposal but the Guises failed to rise to the height of the opportunity.

Montmorency came to Court, accompanied by his sons and his nephews, a week after Henry's death. The boy King, who repeated by rote the instructions of the Cardinal, received his father's friend with personal courtesy, confirmed him in his possessions and honours, but added that as the Constable, at his age, could hardly be expected to endure the burden of attendance at Court, he had entrusted to the Duke and the Cardinal the administration of State affairs. Catherine, who had old grudges to pay off again: "the great snubber," would not lift a finger to save the veteran statesman from discredit. Montmorency withdrew with dignity, declining the King's proposal that he should remain a member of the Council.

"I beg your Majesty to excuse me," he said, "for there are two reasons which prevent me from accepting your offer. The first is that I should be placed under those whom I have always commanded; the second that as I am old, and, as they say, getting into my dotage, my advice could be of little or no use to you."

¹ Catherine d'Albon, only daughter of Saint-André, died unmarried.

The Constable leaves Court

At the same time, if events turned out so that my presence were required, I do not say that I should not spend my life and goods, and those of my children also ; as I am doubly bound to do for my King and natural lord."

With that prophetic " if," and that note of ringing loyalty, the grey-haired soldier left the presence. Some of those who stood beside the Guises must have wished to follow him into his exile, for behind him hovered the ghosts of kings who had been strong and brave men, while on the young, sickly boys who were lords of the future, death was already laying his hand. At Montmorency's departure from Paris after the funeral, he was followed, says Regnier de la Planche, by so stately a train that the King's seemed small in comparison.¹

The gravest anxieties weighed upon the Guises from the beginning of the reign, and they may sometimes have envied the Constable in his retirement. In foreign affairs the prospect was menacing. The news from Scotland became worse and worse ; Queen Elizabeth was advised by Throckmorton that the time was favourable for the recapture of Calais. Since the King was little more than a child, the enemies of France might be expected to seek revenge, and the first care of the Ministers was to secure the confirmation, for the new sovereign, of the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis. Condé was dispatched to Ghent that he might ratify the peace in the name of Francis II.

The King was taken to Meudon about the middle of July for change of air ; and his wife removed to Saint-Germain. From the correspondence of the

¹ *Histoire de l'Etat de France sous François II.* (Panthéon edition), p. 207.

The Reign of Three Kings

English, Venetian, and Florentine Ambassadors in the days between the death and funeral of Henry II it is evident that they thought the Queen Mother was to have a position of much greater influence than was actually assigned to her. The heat in Paris was excessive, and Meudon was at that time in the country. Doctors probably warned the Cardinal that no serious work must be exacted from Francis. Diplomatic correspondence shows Catherine excessively meddling in affairs, but subservient to the Guise who cleverly used her name as an excuse for the changes and deprivations which are necessary at the beginning of every new reign. "The King wills so, because his mother desires it," was the favourite formula.

In the Council, before the funeral, a dispute took place between Montmorency and the Guises on the question of the King's seal. It was to bear the arms of England, France, and Scotland, with the inscription: "Franciscus Dei Gratia Francorum Rex." The Comptroller, when the seal was shown him, declared that the King could not honourably bear any other arms than those of France.¹ He was at this time in the friendliest communication with Elizabeth.

On August 11, the funeral procession of Henry II left the Palace of the Tournelles for Notre Dame. The archers of Paris walked in front, carrying lighted tapers. Then followed the religious orders and the parish clergy. Highly placed ecclesiastical dignitaries, members of chapters and colleges, officials of the University, and the Bishops and Archbishops, preceded the funeral car. A singular effect must have been produced by the constant mournful ringing of the

¹ *Foreign Calendar*, "Elizabeth," vol. i. p. 416.

Funeral of Henry II.

town-criers' bells.¹ High above the crowd came the King's effigy, placed on the funeral car, which was surrounded by the counsellors of the Parlement of Paris in their scarlet robes. The four Presidents held the corners of the pall of cloth of gold. Immediately after the car rode the great officers of State, and four hundred archers of the royal guard brought up the rear. It must have been a sorrowful sight for the Parisians when the King's warhorse, in its trappings of violet velvet, covered with fleurs de lys, was led slowly along the wide street where recently the lists had been set. The Cathedral, in which Henry had attended so many a festal Mass, was now hung with black. On the 12th the body was removed to Saint-Denis, where the funeral Mass was celebrated on the 13th, by the Cardinal of Lorraine, in presence of a distinguished assembly. The King-at-Arms, when all was over, cried thrice, "The King is dead," and then, "turning him about, he proclaimed the King alive." The mourners dispersed to the sound of trumpets, and the chief personages went to dinner in the Abbot's Hall.

The health of Mary Stuart was causing renewed anxiety in August. Chantonay, the Spanish Ambassador (brother of the Bishop of Arras), told Throckmorton that he had seen her faint after dinner. She was "recovered with aqua composita," "looked very evil," and was "in very dangerous case."² By the

¹ Rodolphe du Parc, *L'Ordre tenu au convoy des obseques et pompes funebres du tresault, trespuissant Roy de France, Henry second de ce nom* (1559, Paris).

The fullest and best account of the funeral of Henry II. is that of François de Signac, Seigneur de la Borde, King-at-Arms of Dauphiny "Archives curieuses," Cimber et Danjou, 1st Series, vol. iii. p. 507).

² *Foreign Calendar*, "Elizabeth," vol. i. p. 496.

The Reign of Three Kings

end of the month the Court was at Villers-Cotterets and in the fresh country air the young Queen regained strength.¹

The Florentine Ambassador thought that Mary was consumptive, and was not likely to live long.²

The inactivity of the King of Navarre in this crisis caused profound disappointment to the Protestants. He was entreated to come to Paris to assert his rights, but he waited at Vendôme till his brother Condé should return from the Netherlands. A council of malcontent nobles was held at Vendôme. Cardinal Charles de Bourbon, the Duke of Montpensier, the Prince of La Roche-sur-Yon, and Andelot were present. Coligny was not at Vendôme, and had he joined in the deliberations it is probable that in his hesitating mood at this moment he would have recommended caution. When the King of Navarre at length arrived at Saint-Germain (August 18) he was received with outward civility, but treated as a person of no importance. He effaced himself before the Guises and cheerfully accepted the charge of conducting the Princess Elizabeth to her Spanish bridegroom.

The Florentine Ambassador, Leone Ricasoli, wrote on August 27: "The Cardinal of Lorraine is Pope and King, with a greater authority than was ever seen before in this kingdom."³

¹ *Foreign Calendar*, "Elizabeth," vol. i. p. 587. The château of Villers-Cotterets, rebuilt under Francis I., and partially destroyed in the eighteenth century, is now a poorhouse, but the beautiful forest still remains. Nearly all the places in this neighbourhood have associations with the Valois kings.

² *Négociations de la France avec la Toscane*, vol. iii. p. 403.

³ "Il Cardinale de Lorraine è quà Papa e Re, con una autorità maggiore che mai fusse in questo regno" (*Négociations de la France avec la Toscane*, vol. iii. p. 404).

The Cardinal "Pope and King"

The Guises had overcome all rivals, and were recognised, at home and abroad, as the first men in France. All the vague dreams of sovereignty which had haunted their imaginations from infancy were now transformed into actual, undisputed power. In that age of personal monarchy they held a position which no other Ministers in Europe could hope to attain. It is amusing to note how Sébastien de l'Aubespine, Bishop of Limoges, the French Ambassador with Philip II., addressed himself in the first days of the reign to Montmorency, the King and the Queen Mother, but quickly changing his tone, as the new situation was realised at Ghent, sent letters of the humblest and most obsequious deference to the Guises.¹

We can hardly be surprised that the brothers, and especially the Cardinal, were incapable of bearing their high honours meekly. At the moment when their credit seemed wavering, when Montmorency and Diane were binding Henry II. more closely than ever to their service, the stage was suddenly cleared of the chief personages, and a new drama opened. The Cardinal's unbounded self-confidence can best be understood by a study of the innumerable dedications which were addressed to him from early youth by poets, philosophers, historians, and the authors of political pamphlets. He must have appeared to himself like an idol in a temple, before whom incense is perpetually burning. He was flattered, not only by the obscurer literary tribe, but by great men such as Michel de l'Hôpital, Étienne Pasquier, and Ramus. There is a strain of genuine admiration and sometimes of unaffected personal regard in many

¹ *Négociations sous François II.*, pp. 3-11.

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of these publications, but only a very wise and moderate man could have taken them at their true value. As a specimen of the exaggerated compliments to which the Cardinal was continually listening we may quote Charles Choquart's French translation of the Latin address delivered by the ambassadors of Charles IX at the Council of Trent in 1562. The pamphlet is dedicated to the Cardinal, who is described as "the last anchor of salvation for this country." "France has already derived so much benefit from your happy government that those who are to-day disturbed by the seditions which are leading France to shipwreck desire nothing better than to traverse the narrow seas in this season of fogs on board your barque. They are sure that the storm will be terrible indeed if under your firm leadership they do not reach the haven of rest and tranquillity." ¹

¹ There is a copy of Charles Choquart's little work in the British Museum.

CHAPTER XIII

THE CORONATION AT RHEIMS AND THE VISIT TO BAR-LE-DUC

The journey from Villers-Cotterets—Rheims as it was under Francis II.
—Entry of the King and Queen—The hostages of the "Holy Oil-Flask"—Ceremony of the coronation—The banquet in the Archbishop's palace—The Court at Bar—Illness and anxieties of Queen Mary.

On September 11 the King left Villers-Cotterets and proceeded by slow stages towards Rheims for the Coronation. He rested first at the Abbey of Longpont, a building of the twelfth century, traces of which still exist. On the next day he rested at La Fère, a house belonging to the Constable,¹ and on the third night he slept at Fismes. On the 15th he entered Rheims, followed, after a few hours, by his wife.²

Visitors to the modern manufacturing city of Rheims may find it difficult to reconstruct the town as it was in the sixteenth century, though the principal features remain.³ The Porte de Mars, a three-arched Roman gateway of magnificent proportions,

¹ This is Fère-en-Tardenois, which preserves, on a hill to the north, the ruins of a castle built in the thirteenth century, and altered in the sixteenth by the Constable Anne de Montmorency.

² "La reine fit son entrée le même jour que le roi et la régente" (*Négociations sous François II.*, p. 112).

³ The work of Dom Guillaume Marlot, whose memory is preserved by a mural inscription in the Church of Saint-Remi, is more helpful than any other book to the historical student at Rheims.

The Coronation at Rheims

with eight Corinthian columns, is now surrounded by well-kept public gardens, but in the reign of Francis II. was probably the haunt of a shifting and needy population. The ancient Church of Saint Remi is now in the heart of a working-class district. The Abbey of Saint-Pierre-les-Dames no longer forms a stately link between Saint-Remi and the Cathedral. We see old buildings which were here in the time of Francis and Mary—the House of the Musicians in the Rue de Tambour, which belongs to the early fourteenth century, and the timbered fifteenth-century houses in the Place des Marchés. On the Place du Parvis the scene cannot have greatly altered, for as we enter from the narrow Rue Carnot, we have in front of us the majestic Cathedral, and on the right the Archi-episcopal Palace. The “Church of Two Thousand Statues” has lost many of the figures from its frontage, though the task of restoration is now earnestly pursued. More than enough remains to convince us of the genius of the old sculptors. From terrace to terrace rise the ranks of figures—kings and prophets, saints, apostles and martyrs. The great scenes of the Gospel history are here represented in carving which is full of thought, fancy, and humour. The faces of women and angels are gay and sweet. There is almost a roguish piquancy in the glance with which St. Anne turns to Simeon, and a young angel near them is smiling broadly. The pure and beautiful face of a mitred bishop at the left corner of the great portal draws the attention even of careless onlookers. Stern warnings are written above the Porch of the Last Judgment, near the door by which funerals are carried in. We see the dead rising from their tombs, some dismayed and horror

In Rheims Cathedral

stricken, others gazing trustfully heavenwards. The Evil One is roping in a group of sinners, which includes several Churchmen, that he may convey them to the gulf which flames close at hand. Did the eyes of Francis and Mary rest for a moment on this weird symbolism? On the North portal, and in the interior also, we see Saint-Nicaise, a martyr beloved at Rheims, holding his mitred head in his hands.

The winding street that runs behind the east end and the Palace is still called "Rue du Cardinal de Lorraine," for the memory of the Archbishop whom Dom Marlot calls "the brilliant star of our province" lingers among his people. René de Bouillé is mistaken when he says there is no trace of his burial-place in the Cathedral. The canopied and pillared tomb which he erected in his lifetime was destroyed by the Chapter in 1741, but behind the "Cardinal's Altar" at the east end a humble slab on the ground still bears the texts he chose to be inscribed on his last resting-place.

At the time of the Coronation of Francis II. the rich tapestries of Archbishop Robert de Lenoncourt must already have been in possession of the Chapter,¹ but it is uncertain whether they were hanging, as now, in the nave. A contemporary writer² says that the Cathedral was adorned with the ancient tapestries of the Louvre, on which the Acts of the Apostles were represented. Few, if any, of the pictures which are now in the transepts can have belonged to the Cathedral in 1559.

The interior stonework of Rheims has not the

¹ They were given in 1530.

² *Négociations sous François II.*, p. 116.

The Coronation at Rheims

soft effect as of billows of tossed creamy muslin which we see in the nave of Canterbury as we look from the side aisles of the Choir and Becket's shrine. But the pillars glow with the transparency of alabaster when the sun shines through the high windows, as if the light which has slept upon them for a thousand year were radiating warmth from within. We pass into the Treasury and see the offerings of the Kings. The golden image of his name-saint presented by Francis II is not shown. Here, however, we see the strangely beautiful "Holy Sepulchre" given by his father Henry II., in which the Roman soldiers are starting up in astonishment beside the empty Tomb. Here too is the costly gift of Henry III., the ship of St Ursula, with its many curious figures ; and the crystal cross of Charles of Lorraine. The least imaginative traveller, as he sees the grand rose window high above the western porch glowing like a red flower set in a circle of green leaves, while the morsels of scattered glass beneath it send out sparks like jewels, must feel with Ruskin that the Alps themselves are less wonderful than the divinely inspired buildings raised by human genius.

For two months the city had been preparing to receive its young sovereign. Before Henry II. was buried, the Chapter had been arranging with the town for a loan to cover the expenses of the Coronation. "Monsieur de Reims" wrote to his clergy that all things must be got ready and that the privileges of the Chapter and University were to be duly confirmed.

The first royal visitor to enter was the Spanish bride, Elizabeth of Valois, who arrived on September 14, in a litter covered with black velvet. The child Queen was received under a canopy of white damask

Entry of Francis and Mary

upheld by four of the principal townsmen. At the Cathedral porch she was welcomed by the Cardinal, who led her to the high altar and gave her his blessing. Elizabeth was the guest of Renée of Lorraine in the Abbey of Saint-Pierre.

Francis II. made his entry in a storm of rain and wind. He was met by the Cardinal-Archbishop, accompanied by twenty bishops and a long train of clergy. Riding on a white horse and preceded by heralds, he appeared at the principal gate, and received the keys of the city from the hands of a beautiful girl.¹ The royal procession passed through gaily decorated streets to the Cathedral square, in which there was an artificial fountain adorned with three tall statues. Red wine was poured forth freely from this fountain, and a huge basket was heaped with all varieties of fruit. A canopy of red velvet was carried above the boy King, and before him rode twelve trumpeters clad in violet velvet. Immediately in front of the canopy went the Constable de Montmorency, and behind it came the King of Navarre, with the great officers of State and many gentlemen on horseback. At the west door of the Cathedral Francis was again welcomed by the Cardinal and his clergy, who led him to the high altar that he might make his offering.²

Mary Stuart entered on the same day with equal pomp, preceded by the city companies, and with a canopy of state borne over her.

On the evening before the ceremony, Francis and Mary attended Vespers in the Cathedral.

Four gentlemen, known as the "hostages of the Sainte-Ampoule," or holy oil-flask, were dispatched on Monday morning, September 18, to Saint-Remi,

¹ *Négociations sous François II.*, p. 115.

² *Ibid.* p. 116.

The Coronation at Rheims

where the miraculous treasure was guarded, with the formal request that the Prior and monks would bring it to the Cathedral. One of the "hostages" was a son of Montmorency, and all were men of high rank. They pledged themselves, according to custom, to remain with the monks and to guard with their lives the holy oil. In solemn procession the holy Ampulla was carried out of the church and borne to the Cathedral of Notre Dame, while the monks recited prayers and chants.

The "hostages" rode with the procession, accompanied by gentlemen carrying their banners. On entering the nave of the Cathedral, the Cardinal Charles, in his magnificent robes, came to meet the Prior, followed by the clergy and nobles. Into the Cardinal's hands the Prior of Saint-Remi delivered the vessel, with these words: "Very reverend father in God, and my much honoured lord, here is the sacred oil-flask which I present to you and place in your hands for the coronation of the King our lord, on condition that it shall be restored to my hands when the ceremony is over." The Cardinal, laying his hand on his heart, promised to obey this condition, and carried the Ampulla into the Choir, the Prior and monks following him.

The death of Henry II. was too recent to permit of any sumptuous display of costume. Throckmorton had noticed that there was "no show at all" in the city's decorations, "save that the arms of England, France, and Scotland quartered, were very brimly set out in the show over the Gate."¹ Orders had been

¹ *Foreign Calendar*, "Elizabeth," vol. i. p. 561. On September 19, Throckmorton wrote: "A Great Seal is lately sent into Scotland, with the arms of England, France, and Scotland, having this style:

The Coronation Mass

given that no one should wear any goldsmith's work or embroidery, but only silk or velvet, and that on the next day the mourning should be resumed and continued till the year was out.¹ Among the ladies who watched the Coronation rites, Mary alone was not in mourning. Francis, at his entry, had worn a coat of black velvet, with the collar of the Order.

The Mass of the Holy Ghost was celebrated by the Cardinal of Lorraine. The Epistle was read by the Bishop of Meaux and the Gospel by the Bishop of Evreux. The Bishops of Chartres and Auxerre sang the Litany. There was no sermon, as there had been at the Coronation of Henry II., though Throckmorton says the Cardinal delivered an "oration" when the King made his first entry into the Cathedral on the 15th. Probably it was thought inadvisable, on account of the King's feeble health, to prolong the ceremony beyond reasonable limits.²

At the Coronation the Duke of Guise took rank next to the King of Navarre, and the others in order were the Dukes of Nevers, and Montpensier, the Duke of Aumale and the Constable. Everything had been arranged for the honour and glory of the house of Guise. The Cardinal, next to the King, was the central figure of the occasion; two of his brothers maintained their rank with the Princes of the house of Bourbon. The predominance of the

'Franciscus et Maria Dei Gratia Franciæ, Scotiæ, Angliæ et Hiberniæ Rex et Regina.'" The same arms were also graven upon the French Queen's plate; and at dinner Throckmorton and Sir Peter Mewtas, Elizabeth's special envoy to Francis II., were served upon it (*ibid.* p. 559).

¹ *Foreign Calendar*, "Elizabeth," vol. i. pp. 495-96.

² Mary Stuart, it should be noted, was not crowned at Rheims, as she was already a crowned Queen in her own right.

The Coronation at Rheims

half-foreign Lorrainers was bitterly resented by the Princes.¹

The ceremonies were completed before midday and the royal party adjourned to the Archbishop Palace, which is beside the Cathedral. The long and stately banqueting-hall was hung with tapestries representing the history of Scipio Africanus. The King dined alone at a table set in the middle of the room, with the spiritual and temporal peers around him. When the meal was over, Francis retired from the noisy scene, on which the ladies had been looking from a lofty gallery. Before him, as he rose to quit the hall, walked a youthful page carrying a golden rod, at the top of which was the figure of an emperor seated in a chair. The crown, the hand of justice, the sceptre and the sword were borne out of the hall in front of the King. On reaching his own rooms Francis sent for the Cardinal of Lorraine, with whom he conversed in private till the hour of vespers.

Before leaving Rheims, the King visited the tomb of Saint-Remi, round which the banners of the four "hostages" were now hanging.²

After the fatigues of the Coronation, the Court moved to Bar-le-Duc, where Francis and Mary were entertained by the Duke and Duchess of Lorraine. Host and hostess and their royal guests were all under the age of twenty.³

The principal features of the sixteenth-century town

¹ See the curious letter from the Prince of La Roche-sur-Yon to the Duchess of Nevers, written from Villers-Cotterets on September 15, 1564 (*Négociations sous François II.*, p. 109).

² *Ibid.* p. 117.

³ An excellent short account of the history of Bar is that of M. Charles Démoget, with illustrations by the late M. Włodimir Konarski. It is entitled *Les Origines de l'Architecture de la Renaissance à Bar-le-Duc*.

Modern Bar-le-Duc

of Bar-le-Duc may still be recognised. The ancient Tour de l'Horloge, which sends its solemn hum over the vineyards and valleys, was sounding the hours when the Duke Francis of Guise was born here in his grandfather's castle. The Ornain, a shallow, sparkling stream, must have been spanned in Mary's time by the Bridge of Notre Dame, which keeps to-day its little chapel, and its houses built out above the stream. The waters of the Ornain are bright and pellucid, and as the summer draws near its close the channel becomes almost dry. The low green banks are bordered with young poplars and chestnuts. As the courtly train came from Vitry-le-François in the last week of September, they must have seen flowery gardens on either side of the river, and the banks may have been fringed then, as now, by tall trees. Bar-le-Duc, in the twentieth century, is a place of rich foliage. The writer saw it first on a June day, when the pink chestnuts were in blossom, and the elders bent their snowy branches over the stream. Every gateway in the suburbs was overflowing with roses. White and purple irises bloomed in the gardens above the Ornain.

Bar had flourished under three great Dukes ; René I., by whom it was united to Lorraine ; René II., and his son Antoine. René I., King of Sicily,¹ was not only a protector of the Arts, but himself a painter. Montaigne tells that when Francis and Mary visited Bar, a portrait of René done by his own hand was presented to the King. René had been a collector

Duc, and is published by the Imprimerie Contant-Laguerre in the town. The best story dealing with Bar is *La Maison des Deux Barbeaux*, by André Theuriet.

¹ He succeeded in 1435 to Provence, Anjou, and the kingdom of Sicily.

The Visit to Bar-le-Duc

of books, and his Library contained the works of Plato, Herodotus, Cicero, Livy, and among modern Dante and Boccaccio. He gathered in Italy manuscripts in many languages. Skilled carpet and tapestry weavers, goldsmiths, sculptors and illuminators, were employed in his service.

Some of the finest houses in Bar date from the early years of the sixteenth century. Duke René II made the town his chief residence from 1491 till his death in 1509. He restored the ancient castle of René I., and built the great Record House. The people of Bar prospered under the wing of these cultured and wealthy Dukes. In the narrow winding streets which mount from the lower town toward the Château, we may still see choice specimens of the domestic architecture of the Renaissance.

The Château was enlarged by Duke Antoine but few traces remain of its former splendour. The façade of Antoine now forms one frontage of the boys' school on the Castle terrace. Looking from the terrace, which is shaded by lofty trees, we see, as Mary must have seen when she walked here on autumn evenings, a noble sweep of landscape, with valleys and vine-clad heights. The river is not visible from this point, as it is lost under the closely packed red roofs nor would any one guess that a bright canal, spanned by many miniature bridges and bordered by irregularly built houses, gives to Bar-le-Duc in its oldest streets something of a Venetian charm.

Francis and Mary must have walked in the Rue des Ducs de Bar, a wide, grey, and stately street, in which almost every house is like a palace. The names of original residents, families like those of Rodouart and Marlorat, still cling to the sombre buildings

Ancient Houses at Bar

The upper town preserves, amid its decay, a "life-in-death" like that which startles us in Ligier Richier's skeleton statue in the parish church.

To the royal party, as they entered, Bar-le-Duc must have seemed a citadel hung in the air. Its cliff-like range of buildings has sometimes been compared with Edinburgh Castle and the tall houses of the High Street as they appear from the north. The ramparts below the Avenue du Château are now clothed with gardens and orchards, and beyond the mouldering stones of the Place Saint-Pierre we pass into a well-wooded country, with flowering hedges-rows and prosperous-looking villages. M. Démoget has truly observed that every old house in Bar expresses the definite purpose of some personality. The owner must himself have presided over the construction of his home, its interior and exterior decoration. He meant to build, not only for himself, but for all his posterity. Each house reflects the tastes and habits of the persons who occupied it. Francis and Mary may have been entertained by some of the nobility of Bar and Lorraine, and may have admired the Flemish tapestries, the precious books, the furniture and pictures which had been collected in Italy or in the Low Countries during the wars. More than one gentleman of the Barrois might have adopted, in the most literal sense, the Marlorat motto, "In cruce cresco," for the sufferings of the border country had put wealth into the coffers of the privileged classes.

The Duke of Lorraine entertained his royal guests to costly banquets, and kept open house during their visit. Unfortunately, Mary suffered from a return of the illness which had disappeared for a time

The Visit to Bar-le-Duc

in the healthful air of Villers-Cotterets. Throckmorton says that on hearing bad news from Scotland she had "fallen sick again in such sort as on the 28th instant, she being at evensong to see the ceremony of the Order, was for faintness constrained to be led to her chamber, where she swooned twice or thrice."¹

With the political anxieties which harassed the Queen at this moment, a personal sorrow was mingling. The health of her mother, undermined by the ever-growing difficulties of the Regency, had begun definitely to fail. Mary of Lorraine, though only forty-four, had already known much ill-health; and in the later autumn of this year she had a serious illness.² John Wood, writing to Randall in November, says she was "disparit of all men, but is partly convalescent, but [without] esperance of long lief." Sir Ralph Sadler remarked in December on her great sickness,³ adding that her physicians and all others had lost hope of her recovery, and thought she could not long continue.

The letters of the period show us the Regent fighting gallantly through her last winter. As her bodily weakness increased, her heart and hopes must have turned ever more wistfully to France, and the news that reached her of the growing unpopularity of her brothers must have caused her troubled thoughts. There was but too good reason for the nation's distaste for their government. All the signs promised an era of persecution worse than the worst outbreaks under Francis I.

Throckmorton reported that on August 21 a

¹ *Foreign Calendar*, "Elizabeth," vol. i. p. 587.

² *State Papers and Letters of Sir Ralph Sadler*, vol. i. p. 617.

³ *Ibid.* p. 625.

Renewed Persecution

man and a woman had been rescued on their journey to Meaux, where they were to be executed for religion. "There are in this town [Paris]," he added, "nineteen more condemned to the like and shall be executed." ¹ On September 10 he wrote: "They begin again to persecute here for religion more than ever they did; three or four have been executed at Paris for the same, and diverse great personages threatened. The Cardinal of Lorraine said it is not his fault, and that no man hates extremities more than he; and yet it is known that it is altogether by his occasion." ²

¹ *Foreign Calendar*, "Elizabeth," vol. i. p. 497. ² *Ibid.* p. 549.

CHAPTER XIV

AUTUMN WEEKS IN THE CASTLES OF THE LOIRE

Open-air life of the King and Queen—Dark rumours in the Loire country—The King's supposed leprosy—False reports of the sacrifice of children—Departure of Elizabeth of Valois for Spain—The leave-takings—First stages of the journey—Life in the Castle of Blois—The Advent season—Signs of unrest—Hunting near Chambord—The martyrdom of Anne du Bourg.

ON October 1 the Court left Bar, and returned by slow journeys to Paris. Hunting parties for the King and Queen were arranged at country houses. On October 21 the Spanish Ambassador announced that his master desired that his wife, Elizabeth of Valois, should set forth on her journey.¹ With as little delay as possible, the royal household removed to Blois, accompanying the child-bride on the first stage of her long journey. "At the King's entry into Blois the arms of England and Scotland were set up as they were at Rheims."²

The doctors had advised frequent changes of air as the best remedy for the ill-health of Francis and Mary. The Queen, as our Ambassador writes, on November 11, felt herself "very ill, and looked very pale, and on the 12th kept her chamber all the day long."³ A terrible rumour was circulating with regard to the physical condition of Francis. On November 15

¹ *Foreign Calendar*, "Elizabeth," vol. ii. p. 56.

² *Ibid.* p. 110.

³ *Ibid.* p. 111.

Was the King a Leper?

Killigrew and Jones wrote to Queen Elizabeth: "It is very secretly reported that the French King has become a leper, and for fear of his coming to Châtelherault the people have removed their children, and of late there are certain of them wanting about Tours, which cannot be heard of, and commandment shall be given that there shall be no seeking for the same. The French King, the last day being in hunting, was in such fear that he was forced to leave his pastime and return to the Court. Whereupon commandment was given to the Scotch guard to wear jack and mail and pistolets, and he will not go again hunting unless better accompanied."¹

For an explanation of this ghastly and mysterious passage we must turn to the pages of Regnier de la Planche. It was believed among the people that the sickly Francis II. had inherited from his maternal grandparents the fatal taint of leprosy, and that one of the cures recommended for the leper was bathing in young children's blood. Francis had been growing rapidly during the months which followed his accession,² but his health showed no improvement, and his puffed, heavy-eyed countenance told a sad tale of incurable disease. His mother became seriously alarmed, and a consultation of doctors was held at Fontainebleau. They recommended that the winter should be spent at Blois, where the air was mild and bracing, and where Francis had lived during the greater part of his childhood. He could there undergo a special course of treatment, and when spring came,

¹ *Foreign Calendar*, "Elizabeth," vol. ii. p. 113.

² "Cependant le roy, pourmené ça et là par eux, commença en un instant de croistre à veue d'œil, en sorte qu'en peu de temps d'enfant il se monstroît homme parfait" (Regnier de la Planche, *Histoire de l'Etat de France sous François II.*, p. 231).

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medicinal baths might be prepared for him. One or two of the physicians are said to have warned the Guises that Francis could not live long, and that it was very improbable that he and Mary would have children. Two or three years, in the view of several of the doctors, was likely to be the limit of the King's life. Regnier de la Planche suggests that it was the Guises themselves who first spread the rumour of the King's leprosy. It is much more probable that Killigrew and Jones are right in their supposition that the report came from the faction opposed to the Government.¹ Regnier de la Planche adds that it was whispered that baths of children's blood had been ordered for the King, and that the handsomest and healthiest children between the ages of four and six were to be sacrificed. "And as bad news always flies faster than good and true news," he says, "this false report so excited the people, in the Loire district and for twenty leagues beyond the Court, that it was a piteous thing to see the fathers and mothers running hither and thither hiding and shutting up their children where they thought they would be in better security." ² Scoundrels went through the hamlets, taking money from the parents in return for pretended warnings, and on reaching Blois the unfortunate young King found the countryside in a state of fear and sullen mutiny. The remarks of Killigrew and Jones suggest that as he was hunting in the deep woods beyond the Loire, he was startled by the sight of angry peasants, who followed him with menacing gestures and furious glances, crying, perhaps, as if the King had been a vampire, "Monster, restore our children!"

¹ *Foreign Calendar*, "Elizabeth," vol. ii. p. 146.

² *De l'Etat de France sous François II.*, p. 232.

Departure of Elizabeth for Spain

It need hardly be said that there was not the slightest foundation for the vile report, though such a slander must have robbed the King of all pleasure in his autumn amusements.

On November 18, he left Blois, accompanied by his Queen, and on the 23rd reached Châtelherault, near Poitiers, where he wished to take leave of his sister. The entry was in full state, Mary having precedence of her husband. A canopy of crimson damask was carried over her by four townsmen, with the arms of England, France, and Scotland quartered on it. The King's canopy was of purple damask, with the arms of France only.¹ The two gates of the town through which they passed were painted: on the right side were the arms of France with the King's name, and on the left the arms of England, France, and Scotland, quartered with the Queen's name. Verses in golden lettering were inscribed beneath the portraits of their Majesties on the gates.²

Francis had recovered from his alarm and went out hunting at Châtelherault, probably escorted by a strong guard. Killigrew and Jones wrote that there was "confirmation of the fact of the absenting of children at the King's coming to Châtelherault; nevertheless there was no such cause, and the report was grounded only upon the practice of such as mislike the government of the house of Guise."³

It had been intended that Catherine de' Medici, and perhaps Mary Stuart also, should accompany Elizabeth as far as Bayonne or Lusignan. Their plans were frustrated by the early and heavy snowfall which came on in the last week of November; and the

¹ *Foreign Calendar*, "Elizabeth," vol. ii. p. 145.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.* p. 146.

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farewells were said at Châtelherault. Many tears were shed at the parting, writes De Thou,¹ and we can well believe that it was hard for the widowed mother to lose her gentle eldest daughter, and for Mary Stuart to take leave of her companion of infancy, the only sister she had known. Elizabeth was accompanied by the King and Queen of Navarre and the Cardinal of Bourbon, who were to conduct her to the frontiers. She had reached the age of fourteen years and eight months when she set out to meet her bridegroom of thirty-two. Preparations for her journey had for some weeks occupied the ladies of the household. Giovanni Michiel, writing on November 7 from Blois, says: "Nothing is attended to here but preparation for the departure of the Queen Catholic, which has been postponed from the 12th till the 16th, because her most important dresses, which are being made in Paris, are not yet finished."²

The researches of modern historians have destroyed the legend which represented Elizabeth of Valois as, like Mary Stuart, a queen of tragedy. Though she died at twenty-three, the years of her married life were calm and happy, for she possessed the full confidence of her husband, and drew forth all the tenderness that was possible to his nature. Her stepson, the unhappy Don Carlos, who was subject to accesses of violent mania, felt the soothing influence of her presence. Elizabeth had not been a brilliant pupil in the Latin and Greek classes, nor did she possess those gifts of personal fascination which drew all hearts to her companion, the Queen of Scots, and her younger sister, Margaret of Valois. Her virtues were

¹ *Histoire Universelle*, vol. ii. book xiii.

² *Venetian Calendar*, vol. vii. p. 132.

Character of Elizabeth

obedience, fidelity, simple devotion to her religious duties, a childlike trust in God and men. Of the four wives of Philip II., she alone won his affectionate, uninterrupted regard. Her two daughters were always especially dear to him. As the Queen's litter moved southwards along the snowy roads, her friends must have wondered whether this great alliance carried with it any pledge for her happiness. France had shut out the Inquisition, but in Spain, as a modern traveller writes, the sickening breath of the *auto-de-fé* seems to linger in most of the great cities. Could Elizabeth enter Valladolid without thinking of the dreadful deaths that had taken place on the Quemadero a few weeks before her marriage? Apologists for Philip II. have explained that he believed, amid his worst cruelties, that he was carrying out the Divine purpose, and readers who are scarcely convinced by such arguments, or by the evidence of his voluminous correspondence, must at least acknowledge that he bore his own last illness with patience and fortitude, when he was called to endure in his own person something of the torture he had inflicted on his unoffending subjects. It is not surprising, as M. de Ruble remarks, that a legend of horror should have grown up around the innocent child who was delivered up to the tyrant of Spain and the Low Countries. "The story allows us to impute one crime more to a sovereign who makes but small appeal to our sympathies." ¹

Philip had personally superintended the trousseau of his child-wife, sending her from Flanders rich gowns of cloth of gold and silver. Silk stockings and undergarments of Flemish linen were included in her

¹ A. de Ruble, *Le Traité de Cateau-Cambrésis*, p. 245.

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wardrobe. A list of her costliest treasures has been preserved,¹ and shows that she took to Spain a jewel-casket of sumptuous magnificence. The roads and bridges near the frontier had been repaired to allow of the passage of her heavily laden waggons and her numerous suite.

Elizabeth cried bitterly as she set out on November 25 for her first sleeping-place at Poitiers. Soon, however, the pleasure of travelling over the crisp, wintry roads restored her spirits. Her eyes wandered with delight to the villages, castles, and churches which shone in their mantle of white. Perhaps a gleam of sunshine lit up the landscape at the moment when Elizabeth cried out in rapture, "Are there houses and churches as beautiful as these in Spain?"²

The twentieth-century visitor can easily reconstruct the Blois known to Francis and Mary. The Loire is here of noble width, and above it the town rises in clean white terraces. The general contour is best studied from the opposite side of the river, near the top of the long road that leads into the forest. On the left rise the sharp spires of the ancient Church of St. Nicholas, and near it we see the massive, clustered walls of the Castle. The chief object on the right is Mansard's Cathedral of St. Louis, which has replaced the sixteenth-century structure. Blois has many steep twisting streets and flights of narrow steps, which remind us of the oldest parts of Hastings. All that remains of the Hôtel of the Guises is a round tower, now built into a modern house. The

¹ *Mémoires Journaux du Duc de Guise*, p. 445.

² Palma Cayet, *Chronologie novenaire*, p. 176, quoted by A. de Ruble, *Le Traité de Cateau-Cambrésis*, p. 252.

The Town and Castle of Blois

most interesting of the older houses is the beautiful Hôtel d'Alluye. From every point of vantage—the bridge, the terrace which overlooks the Bishop's garden, the top of private staircases—the eye ranges over broad landscapes. The physicians understood that all the drugs in their pharmacy would be less beneficial to the fragile King and Queen than the daily sight of this sparkling river, with the fields and woods spreading out to the farthest horizon. The shadows of great clouds, reflected on the broad bosom of the Loire, the autumn sunshine which tinged the woodland leaves with pale gold and copper and orange hues, might drop their “medicinal gums” into the tired young hearts. These doctors could not recommend the modern remedy of a sea-voyage, yet at Blois, on the Cathedral terrace, we seem to be walking on the middle deck of a ship, with earth and ocean at our feet, and the illimitable sky overarching all. From the rich fields, the boats on the quays, the waggon-laden roads, the villages, the forest glades, there comes a whisper of wealth and peace.

The Castle, as Mary knew it, must have been far more sumptuous than in its modern restoration. We linger long at the foot of the glorious open staircase of Francis I., the perfected symbol of the French Renaissance, with its shell-like convolutions and its apocalyptic visions of living creatures unknown to earth. Did Mary admire these three delicate statues of fair women, long, lithe and graceful, which some have ascribed to the youthful genius of Jean Goujon, and which to the modern traveller bear but one name—that of Diane de Poitiers? Did she admire these marvellous salamanders, surmounted by flaming crowns, surrounded by living fires, animals like those

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of the prophecies of Ezekiel, clutching the ear with strong, unconquerable, claw-like grasp, overcoming pain and terror, immortal images amid the transient pageants of mortality? Protestant historians may be pardoned if they have read into the motto of Francis I. a fuller meaning than the King intended.

The modern visitor to Blois, as he approaches the town from the station along the deeply sunken road which was once the bed of a stream, sees the Italian palace of Francis I. towering high above him with its long arcaded galleries. The lightness and beauty of the structure, the grace of the many rounded arches, the exquisite carvings of the balustrade, the fantastic spring of the stone-work, seem to proclaim that this is a palace of joy and luxury, where the languors of the South were to be transported to French soil. But if we come to Blois in the shorter, dingier autumn days, as Francis and Mary came in the first months of their reign, these long, open-air galleries are peopled with the shadowy forms of murdered victims who were close kinsmen of the Queen. The loveliest of French pleasure-houses was to be stained with a tragedy. The night of winter has seen no more desperate crime than the murder of Mary's cousin, Henry le Balafre, third Duke of Guise.

When Francis and Mary entered the Castle as lord and lady, the future murderer, Henry III., was a little innocent child, living in the nursery with his sister Margaret and his brothers, under the tutelage of Catherine de' Medici.

The rooms of the Château are now glittering with the restorer's gold and blue. They are of fair size and height, with surprisingly low and narrow doors. The panellings of stamped and gilded Cordova

The Royal Apartments

leather and the wood carvings are faithfully imitated. Sunlight streams in through the latticed windows, and we can understand that Holyrood and Stirling must have seemed gloomy places to Queen Mary after this bright home of her childhood.

Everywhere we see the porcupine of Louis XII., the salamander of Francis I., the ermine of Anne of Bretagne, and the swan pierced with an arrow which was the device of Queen Claude. There are secret staircases in the Castle, hidden passages and mysterious concealed cupboards which the guides describe as the "poison-closets" of Catherine. The empty panelled rooms of the second and third storeys in the oldest part of the buildings are allotted by tradition to the Queen Mother and to Francis and Mary. Reception-rooms, dressing-rooms and bedchamber, library, oratory and private study, remain much as they were in the middle sixteenth century, save that the costly furniture is missing.

The panelling of Catherine's library "still shows traces of the colour which threw into bold relief the exquisite carving of its walls. There are two hundred and thirty panels here, all different, and each a brilliant example of workmanship and design. This cabinet alone would be sufficient indication of the luxury of decoration lavished by four Valois Courts upon the château; its solidity is conspicuous in the great wall of division which cuts through the whole wing like a spinal column, and divides each storey into a double range of rooms, each large enough, as Balzac said, to hold a company of infantry with ease." ¹ The rooms of Francis and Mary were exactly above those of Catherine.

¹ T. A. Cook, *Old Touraine*, vol. ii. p. 146.

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The Advent season was observed at Blois with the customary services. On December 13, Killigrew and Jones wrote: "The two Queens have daily sermon in the chapel, or their dining chamber, by frere who can good skill; which some think is done by the Cardinal of Lorraine's means, to keep in the Queen Mother, who is rather a Protestant than otherwise."¹

The anxiety about the health of Mary of Guise continued. On Christmas Day six letters concerning her, signed by Francis II., were dispatched from Blois. To Elizabeth of England Francis wrote that having heard of the severe illness of his mother-in-law, and desiring to know her state, he had sent the Sieur de la Marque, bearer of the letter, to inquire respecting her present condition and report to him.²

To the invalided Queen Dowager the King wrote that he would not be happy till he heard a better report of her health. She would not find better physicians, he playfully suggested, than her daughter and himself.³

In pursuit of pleasure the King moved restlessly from palace to palace. The Venetian Ambassador wrote in December: "To attend better to hawking in which he greatly delights (though his father did not) and to other field sports, the most Christian King has retired till Christmas to the palace of Chambord four leagues hence, and besides the Queen Mother and the Queen his wife, he has made the Chancellor and the Privy Council go thither to arrange his finances for next year."⁴

¹ *Foreign Calendar*, "Elizabeth," vol. ii. p. 186.

² *Ibid.* p. 230.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Venetian Calendar*, vol. vii. p. 138.

The Court at Chambord

Chambord is a gigantic piece of masonry, a house of more than four hundred rooms, with enormous towers and thirteen staircases. Its general appearance is now that of a huge and comfortless barrack, but the fresh breezes of the Sologne blow over the surrounding fields, and in Mary's time the Castle was the centre of a large and well-wooded park. In this severe winter the lakes and little streams may probably have been frozen, though after the heavy snowstorm of late November, Touraine perhaps enjoyed a spell of open weather before Christmas. Even on this brief excursion, trouble entered the Palace. Suspicion fell on a Scotsman, Thomas Stuart, who was arrested at Chambord on leaving Mary's apartment and carried a prisoner to Blois. Every Stuart claimed kinship with his sovereign, and this man had apparently asked her good offices in providing him with a passport into Scotland that he might ask the Lords of the Congregation not to confiscate his lands. In the suspicious temper of the Court, such a request could hardly have been urged in more undiplomatic terms, for the Lords of the Congregation were at feud with the Queen's Mother, and Mary could not have been expected to acknowledge their power. Thomas Stuart was further accused of having said he wished the French Queen were in heaven, as she was the cause of so much unquietness in Scotland.

The minds of Frenchmen were more occupied at this moment with the fate of Anne du Bourg than with the movements of the Court in Touraine. The learned counsellor, who had been lying in prison since June 10, had a host of friends in France, Switzerland, and Germany. For ten years he had filled with distinction a chair of jurisprudence at the University

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of Orleans, and on three occasions had been chosen rector.¹ He was only thirty-eight, and had the prospect of a brilliant career. As the nephew of Chancellor of France and the descendant of a noble family, he might hope to rise high in the service of the State. At Orleans he had remained nominally a Catholic, though it is believed that he held intercourse with some of the many Lutherans who studied at the University. One of these, Conrad Mains, was imprisoned for heresy, but was released by the intervention of Anne du Bourg. On Easter Eve 1559, soon after his settlement in Paris, the young professor partook of the Lord's Supper after the Huguenot ritual. The place of assembly is unknown; some of the worshippers came in disguise, nor would du Bourg ever consent, under the closest pressure, to reveal the names of any of them.

He emerges into the full light of history with his speech at the Mercuriale of June 10, which lasted more than an hour and a half, and was patiently heard by Henry II. We cannot doubt that he had counted the cost of such a step, for at Orleans he must have witnessed the fate of martyrs. François Morel, one of the ministers of Paris, wrote to Calvin that the Parlement had never heard language more magnificent, more free, more respectful, or more holy than that of Anne du Bourg.²

For six months this brave gentleman had lain in the gloomy cells of the Bastille and the Conciergerie. His health suffered severely from his rigorous confinement, and there were moments when he was disposed to imitate the fellow-counsellors who had

¹ M. Lelièvre, *Anne du Bourg*, p. 8.

² *Calvini Opera*, vol. xvii. p. 548.

Martyrdom of Anne du Bourg

won their freedom by concessions. Anne du Bourg, like his colleagues, had "a mind to live in the world," and he employed every means suggested by his acute legal knowledge, appealing from Court to Court, from the Bishop of Paris to the Archbishop of Sens, and from the Archbishop of Sens to the Archbishop of Lyon. Through this prolonged struggle, while suspense was wearing out his nerve and courage, he felt that his worst enemy was "that red Phalaris," the Cardinal of Lorraine.

On three occasions he yielded to a momentary weakness which is fully explained by his circumstances: once when he denied that he had taken part in the Huguenot Communion, next when he allowed his advocate Marilhac to express his desire to be reconciled to Rome, and again, during the last month of his life, when, acting under the strongest moral pressure, he consented, for a very short time, to withdraw his first confession of faith and replace it by a more ambiguous statement. A letter of Marlorat, full of affection, tender reproach and sublime encouragement, recalled the prisoner to himself, and he sent to his judges, withdrawing his recantation and declaring that he stood firmly by his original confession. Though Anne du Bourg had not been called to endure physical torture, his sufferings in the cells of the Conciergerie must have wasted his strength, and he had been too ill to plead his own cause before the Parlement.

The assassination of the President Minard, one of the enemies of the Protestants, gave the signal for the death of du Bourg. The Cardinal refused to permit any further delay. Emissaries from the Elector Palatine were on their way to Paris, with the

Autumn in the Loire Valley

offer from the Prince of a chair at Heidelberg for the man who was now languishing in a malefactor's prison. His immediate execution was decided on.

On Saturday, December 23, he was led to the Place de Grève. By a secret clause in his sentence, the judges had ordered that he should be strangled before the flames touched him. Of this mercy the prisoner knew nothing, and when the executioner was putting the rope round his neck, he asked whether this was necessary, since he was to die by fire. He suffered calmly and bravely, uttering with his last breath the prayer, "Forsake me not, my God, lest I should forsake Thee." Out of the dust of mortal weakness, trembling ever on the brink of disgrace, the chivalry of Christ is fashioned.

The Cardinal's thoughts about the execution may be learned from his letter to the Bishop of Angoulême at Rome.¹ "The King," he says, "has come back to this town [Blois], where we are not letting an hour be wasted in the ordering of our affairs before we go away from here; and among other matters we are attending to 'those of the religion'—as is more than requisite and necessary—with rigorous executions. Only three or four days ago the counsellor du Bourg was publicly burned on the Place de Grève in Paris after having been strangled. This will serve as a notable example to those of like views, the number of whom is infinite."

¹ G. Ribier, *Lettres et Mémoires d'Etat*, vol. ii. p. 819. The date of the letter is given by Ribier as December 20, but this may be a copyist's error, as Anne du Bourg died on December 23, and the Cardinal speaks of his execution as over. Our diplomatists at Blois were in some doubt as to the date of the execution. On December 27, Killigrew and Jones wrote to Queen Elizabeth: "Bourg was not executed till about the 20th instant" (*Foreign Calendar*, "Elizabeth," vol. ii. p. 243).

Anxieties of the Guises

The preoccupations of the Guises in December may be understood from their correspondence with the Bishop of Limoges, French Ambassador at the Court of Spain. They were pressing for the restoration of the towns which Philip, by the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis, had engaged himself to return to France, but over which his Flemish Ministers were haggling. Remarkable adroitness and ability are shown in all the letters sent from France by the Cardinal personally, or by Francis II., in the correspondence dictated by his chief adviser.

CHAPTER XV

THE TUMULT OF AMBOISE

(I) *The Preparations*

Plans for the royal visit to Amboise—The Cardinal's Amboise estate—Unpopularity of the Government—Depletion of the Treasury—Widespread discontent and its causes—The political malcontents find a leader in La Renaudie—Calvin and La Renaudie—The Assembly at Nantes—The "Silent Captain"—Anxieties of the Court—Francis and Mary leave Blois—Throckmorton's interview with Mary at Amboise—First warnings reach the Cardinal—The town and castle of Amboise.

THE Guises did not allow themselves to be influenced by the opinions of the Court physicians, that Francis II. was not likely to live long. He had overcome many serious illnesses, and might survive many more. Whatever may have been the secret fears of the Ministers, they laid their plans as for a long reign. Early in December (1559) the Cardinal bought the property of Château Gaillard, near Amboise, where Charles VIII. had formerly planted gardens under the direction of the skilful Neapolitan flower-grower Passiolo. The new proprietor believed that the Court would be frequently in residence in the healthful little town on the Loire, and knowing that the chief burden of the administration must rest on his shoulders, he wished to have a house of his own, where he could carry on State business apart from the noise and distractions of the crowded Castle. Workmen were

The Movements of the Court

put into the Château Gaillard, and improvements on an extensive scale were undertaken, to be abandoned after the premature close of the reign and the fall of the Guises.¹

The itinerary of the Court was planned for more than a year ahead. Some historians have written as if the Guises, at the first rumours of disturbance, had flung themselves, with the King and Queen, into the fortress of Amboise. The truth is, that the arrangements for a Lenten sojourn at Amboise were of long standing. On December 2 (1559) Chantonay informed Philip II. that "the Court is to spend Lent at Amboise, and to proceed in spring to Guyenne, travelling by Poitiers, Bordeaux, and Bayonne." Toulouse was to be the next resting-place, and the winter of 1560-61 was to be spent in Provence and Languedoc.

In January (1559-60), Chantonay wrote from Blois that the time was drawing near for the departure of the Court for Amboise, and that twelve or fifteen days would be occupied on the journey with hunting parties at the houses of private gentlemen.²

While the Duke and the Cardinal were dreaming of long-continued power, the nation was rising around them in sullen mutiny. Their best acts were misinterpreted, and the well-earned popularity of the Duke of Guise was neutralised by the errors of his brother. Veteran soldiers had come back from Italy

¹ Étienne Cartier, *Essais historiques sur la Ville d'Amboise*, p. 83, notes. The estate was sold in 1566 to M. de Villequier.

² The correspondence of Chantonay in the Archives Nationales was supplemented by M. Charles Paillard in the *Revue Historique* (vol. xiv. pp. 61 and 311) by extracts from the Ambassador's letters to Margaret of Parma and the Bishop of Arras in the archives of Brussels. The Brussels letters are copies made in the eighteenth century.

Preparing for the Tumult

to claim gifts, pensions, and offices, but the Cardinal had ordered them to quit Fontainebleau, and had set up a gibbet as a warning to over-zealous suitors. We may assume that the conqueror of Calais would never have permitted such an action had he not known that the royal coffers were empty.¹ Brantôme tells us that great offence was given by this stroke of policy at the beginning of the reign, and he blames the Cardinal, while on the same page supplying a sufficient motive for his action, for he confesses that “the King found his realm so poor and so deeply in debt that he did not know what to do.” The Venetian Republic was pressing for the payment of large sums, the Swiss were clamorous for their money, and the bankers who had advanced funds for the late wars now expected their indemnity. The expenses of a double royal wedding and the large dowries of the Princesses had drawn almost the last coin out of the treasury. “In a word,” adds Brantôme, “the kingdom was then so poor and so depleted of money and means, that it was long since the financial credit had touched so low a level.”² “What could the King and his financiers do,” continues Brantôme, “save to bid these claimants return some other time, for to satisfy their demands would have more than swallowed up ten revenues of France?” Yet he says, a few lines farther on, in his zeal for the exculpation of his great captain, the Duke of Guise: “I do not say that the Cardinal of Lorraine, who had kept for himself the superintendence of the finances, was not a little to blame for it all, but not M. de Guise”; and he hastens to tell how Guise excused himself affectionately to his old officers and promised to employ

¹ Brantôme, vol. iv. pp. 223-225.

² *Ibid.* p. 224.

The Gibbet at Fontainebleau

them on further service. "Go home, my friends, for a while," he said; "did you not hear the proclamation? Go away, the King is very poor just now; but be sure that when the time comes and the chance offers, I will not forget you, but will summon you to my side."

In the affair of the gibbet of Fontainebleau, as in so many incidents of Guise history, the Cardinal bore the full weight of responsibility for unpopular actions. Henri Martin says that the Duke was the lion and the Cardinal the fox, but a fox-like statesman would hardly have offered the gallows to the royal creditors. There was not money to reward the troops of Brissac when they returned from Piedmont; the fact should have been admitted, and an appeal made to their patriotism. The Duke of Guise might have conciliated the starving officers, but the Cardinal, ever headstrong, overbearing, and disposed to violence, flung these veterans into the ranks of the malcontents. He gathered on his own head all the hatred which a more cautious politician would have divided. We can picture him working with his secretaries till late hours in his private room in the palace of Blois, striving to make ends meet at the close of the year, and retiring wearily to his short hours of rest. He was not wholly or chiefly to blame for the squandering of the finances under Henry II., for the struggle which emptied the treasury began before he was born; but we cannot acquit him of a large share of blame for the religious disaffection of the country. There would have been no Tumult of Amboise if he had not persecuted the Huguenots.

Foolish and unfortunate measures of the Government hastened the crisis. The Parlement of Paris was forced

Preparing for the Tumult

to undertake in earnest the task of religious purification. By an edict dated from Villers-Cotterets (September 4, 1559) all houses in which Protestant meetings were held were to be destroyed, and another edict (November 9) doomed to death the organisers of unlawful assemblies. Magistrates were ordered to enforce the law on pain of losing office. Though the Inquisition had been refused by France, the Cardinal succeeded in establishing a virtual Inquisition during the first months of his Ministry.

In January 1560, the Guises were opposed by the princes of the blood royal, by the Constable Montmorency and his nephews, by a large group of the smaller nobles and gentlemen, by the entire Protestant party, and by a mass of discontented soldiers. The personal following of the Montmorencys alone comprised most of the great families of purely French extraction. Officers who had served under the Constable, Coligny, and Andelot made common cause against the hated "Lorrainers," but Anne de Montmorency was content to bide his time, and his nephews imitated his prudence. They kept on friendly terms with the Queen Mother, professed the utmost loyalty to the sovereign, and formed a national reserve, which might be summoned to the King's service on any emergency. Through the earlier months of the reign, we can detect a quiet and ever-growing movement for the deposition of the Guises. But as Regnier de la Planche observes, the question was, Who should bell the cat? The Duke Francis was not a man who could be easily "captured and brought to justice." No prince of the blood could be expected to appear openly as the leader of so wild an enterprise.

A leader for the malcontents was found in Godefroy

Calvin and La Renaudie

de Barry, Sieur de la Renaudie, a gentleman of Périgord, who bore a doubtful reputation. He had been condemned as a forger, and had been rescued from the prison of Dijon by the Duke of Guise. La Renaudie fled to Geneva, where he embraced the doctrines of Calvin. From the beginning of their acquaintance, Calvin distrusted his motives and disliked the man.¹

In 1558, when La Renaudie was acting as the agent of the King of Navarre, he warned the Protestants of Paris against him. In a letter to Coligny² Calvin stated that he was consulted seven or eight months beforehand as to whether it would be lawful to resist the tyranny by which the children of God were oppressed, and what would be the best means to employ. He strongly recommended the abandonment of the idea. "Let but a single drop of blood be shed, and streams will flow." "It would be better that we should all perish a hundred times over than that through us the Christian name and the Gospel should be exposed to such disgrace." The utmost that Calvin would admit was that if it were necessary to maintain the princes of the blood in their rights for the common welfare of the realm, and if the courts of Parlement supported them in their claim, then good subjects might lawfully aid them by force of arms.

Of La Renaudie's interviews with him Calvin wrote :—

"Some time afterwards I was much astonished

¹ In his famous letter to Coligny, exculpating himself from any share in the Tumult, Calvin says : " Et de fait jay tousjours dit que si le fait me desplaisoit, la personne de *La Renaudier* men desgoutoit encore plus " (*Calvini Opera*, vol. xviii. p. 429).

² *Calvini Opera*, vol. xviii. pp. 426-31.

Preparing for the Tumult

when La Renaudie, who had arrived from Paris, told me that the charge of the enterprise had been entrusted to him. . . . As I had always known him to be a man full of vanity and presumption, I firmly repelled his advances, so that he was never able to draw from me any sign of consent, but on the contrary I exerted myself to dissuade him from this folly by many reasons which would be too long to repeat."

La Renaudie did not accept Calvin's rebuff, but went on working in the dark among French Protestants at Geneva, making use of Calvin's name as that of a favourer of his designs.

Calvin was indignant, and in the presence of Beza and others, had a stormy scene with the adventurer. Public proclamation was made, warning the French refugees against leaving the city, but these efforts were unavailing. The French declined to accept the verdict of the Genevan leaders as authoritative. "Not with these alone," they said, "dwells the Spirit of God." Secretly, at nightfall, many slipped out of the city gates, bound on an enterprise compared with which the ascent of the snow-peaks of Mont Blanc would have been safe and easy.

On February 1 (1559-60) the chief promoters of the conspiracy assembled at Nantes.

The Parlement of Brittany was in session, and the strangers passed unnoticed in the disguise of litigants, their servants carrying behind them bags stuffed with legal papers.¹ Among the malcontents were nobles and men of substance from every part of the country, who had come to Nantes

¹ Regnier de la Planche, *De l'Estat de France sous François II.*, p. 238.

The Meeting at Nantes

on the summons of La Renaudie, and on the understanding that he was the agent of the Prince of Condé. It is doubtful whether the Prince's name was mentioned openly in the deliberations at Nantes, but all believed that he was the "Silent Captain" who would lead the venture. La Renaudie discoursed at length on the state of the kingdom, the bad government of the Guises, and the humiliation of the princes of the blood, and he pledged the assembly to join him in an attempt to capture the Duke and the Cardinal on March 6 at Blois. A solemn oath was sworn that nothing should be attempted against the King's person, or in disobedience to the laws of the realm. The intervening weeks were to be spent in collecting men and money. As to the fate reserved for the "tyrants" had they been taken, little doubt can have been felt among the conspirators at Nantes. They were to be "justly punished, to serve as an example to posterity."¹ Had the attempt succeeded, the Duke of Guise might possibly have been allowed to live, but no power in France could have saved the Cardinal.²

Meanwhile, at Court, a certain restlessness prevailed for weeks before the plot was suspected. On January 28, Killigrew and Jones wrote to Cecil that the use of tabourins and masks about the Court had been stayed, "partly on account of the fear the Cardinal of Lorraine has of himself, and partly on account of forcible entry of a gentlewoman's house of this town by maskers."³ It was noted

¹ Regnier de la Planche, p. 239.

² Mr. Whitehead quotes the saying of the Mantuan Ambassador, that the real motive of the conspirators was to kill the Cardinal of Lorraine (*Gaspard de Coligny*, p. 80).

³ *Foreign Calendar*, "Elizabeth," vol. ii. p. 337.

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also that the soldiers, through hunger, were committing robberies.

The conspirators were not in the secret of the Court plans, and in fixing their rendezvous for the 6th of March at Blois, they were unaware that the King was to remove to Amboise before the end of February. In the first week of the month he set out on his slow progress, and while the Court was moving between Marchenoir and Montoire (February 12) a definite warning came to the Guises. The first whispers of trouble had reached the Cardinal from Germany, but they were vague and confused. The traitor was the lawyer Des Avenelles, who had entertained La Renaudie in Paris, had learned the secret of his designs, and had revealed them to Millet, secretary of the Duke of Guise. Unsuspiciously the royal party was hunting in the forest of Marchenoir, when the unwelcome messenger arrived. "Within ten days," said Des Avenelles, "all will be made or marred." The Duke of Guise sent troops to reconnoitre the country, and finding all quiet, did not think it necessary to alarm the King. It was not till February 22, two days earlier than had been originally intended, that the Court established itself at Amboise.

On the 25th, Throckmorton had an interview with the Queen Mother and Queen Mary, and he also conversed at length in private with the Cardinal. Nothing was said on either side, apparently, about an expected rising. The talk turned on the troubles in Scotland, and the relations between Elizabeth and the Lords of the Congregation.

Throckmorton saw Catherine de' Medici "and the French Quene on her right hand set by

Warnings to the Guises

her, accompanied with the Cardinalls of Chastillon and Burbon.”¹ Catherine expressed the hope that the English Ambassador would lend his influence towards the promoting of good relations, “for she knew I might do moche in the mater ; for she wold be glad and so wold the Quene her doughter (and so turned towards her, who thereupon smiled,) that all things were amicably compounded. Yes, quoth the yong Quene, the Quene my good suster may be assured to have a better neighbour of me, being her cousin, then of the rebellis, and so I pray youe to signify unto her.”²

On March 1, the Spanish Ambassador, Chantonay, had an interview with the Cardinal, who complained that the Queen of England was favouring and supporting plots against the person of the King and his Ministers. Chantonay then informed the French statesman that his brother, the Bishop of Arras, had told him that a plot was afoot to kill the Cardinal himself and all the members of the House of Guise.³

Notwithstanding these repeated warnings from many different quarters, the Cardinal was surprisingly ignorant of the true state of affairs. On February 19 he did not even know that La Renaudie was in France, and asked Coignet, the French Ambassador in Switzerland, to see that his movements were closely watched.⁴

The Castle of Amboise, where the Court was now established, was one of the strongest riverside fortresses in Europe, well adapted for the guard of precious lives. Built by the old Counts of Anjou,

¹ Forbes, *Public Transactions*, vol. i. p. 342.

² *Ibid.* p. 343.

³ *Revue Historique*, vol. xiv. p. 81.

⁴ Letter quoted by Mignet, *Journal des Savants*, 1857, pp. 420, 421. The letter was written from Montoire.

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it had been repaired and fortified by Charles VII. Two great towers had been added by Charles VIII., one facing the river on the north, the other the far-spreading forest of Amboise. The Castle stands on a steep rock on the left bank of the Loire, overlooking the small, closely clustered town.

The Loire is here wide, with sandy banks ; and the old bridge-builders chose a spot for their construction where an island divides the stream. Passing to-day along the narrow streets, called by modern names,—the Rues Newton, Victor Hugo, and J. J. Rousseau,—we are reminded of the past by a noble mediæval gateway. From the Hôtel de Ville, we come by a winding ascent to the Castle entrance, which leads by a covered vaulted passage to a garden filled in summer with yellow, white, and crimson roses. Every rose known to gardeners seemed to the writer—a June traveller—to be flourishing on bushes or trained against the southern-facing walls. The fragrance of innumerable flowers sweetens the courtyard where the martyrs' blood was spilt. Standing on the ramparts, we have immediately before us the ancient chapel of the Castle, perched like a crown upon its rock. It is one of the purest architectural gems of France, and is adorned within by a stone lacework of almost incredible delicacy. Above the portal on the outside is a carved representation of the conversion of St. Hubert, which is too fairy-like, as the tourist thinks, for the winds of heaven to visit it. In the upper panel we see Charles VIII. and Anne of Brittany, his wife, in kneeling postures.

Tourists are taken to the top of the gigantic Tour des Minimes, from which they can trace the far-spreading valley of the Loire.

The Castle of Amboise

The memories of horror that survive from 1560 are half lost as we gaze on a landscape rich in corn and wine, the fields, the woods, the glancing water. In the gardens at our feet there are beeches and chestnuts, acacias and poplars, and beyond them we look to the crowded red roofs and the stately bridge. The young Agrippa d'Aubigné, entering Amboise in his father's train, saw the heads of traitors blackening above the stream, and heard his execration on the hangmen who had "cut off the head of France." The words were spoken loudly, in the hearing of hundreds who had assembled for the Amboise fair. It was only by spurring his horse that the bold Huguenot was able to escape from the rabble. Putting his hand on the head of his young son, he said, "My child, you must not spare your head after mine, to avenge these chieftains full of honour, whose heads you have just seen. If you spare yourself in this matter, you will have my curse."¹

In a long pillared room of the Castle, now partially restored, we are shown the window from which, according to tradition, the King, his brothers, and the ladies of the Court watched the executions. On the opposite side, from the balcony facing the river, we may still touch the iron grating on which, as legend tells, rows of ghastly heads were fixed. Francis I. spent his happy childhood at Amboise; Charles V. was his guest in its vast and lofty halls, but their splendour is forgotten as we realise the cruelties committed in the suppression of the Tumult of 1560.

¹ *Mémoires de Théodore Agrippa d'Aubigné* (Panthéon littéraire), p. 472.

CHAPTER XV.—(*continued*)

THE TUMULT OF AMBOISE

(2) *The Attempt and Failure*

Alarm of the Guises—A night watch in the Castle court—Did the Guises believe that the King and Queen were in danger?—breathing space—The King and Queen go hunting—Renewal of the panic—Outbreak of the Tumult—Motives of La Renaudie and his followers—Activity of the Duke of Guise—He is made Lieutenant-General—Dispersal of the conspirators and death of La Renaudie—The King and Queen at Chenonceaux—The Cardinal's rage against the prisoners—His desire to implicate Condé.

THE outbreak of the conspiracy was foreshadowed for March 6, and as the day approached, the Guises became very nervous. The English and Spanish Ambassadors bore witness to their panic. Throckmorton, writing on March 7, said:—

“ You shall understand that the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine have discovered a conspiracy wrought against themselves and their authority which they have bruited (to make the matter more odious) to be meant onely against the King whereupon they are in such feare, as themselves were privy coatis, and are in the night garded with pistoliers and men in arms. They have apprehended eight or nine and have put some to the torture. . . . The matter is presently hote, and like enough to be hotter; so as if ever time were for to work your surety and to do that you have nede to do, it is now.”¹

¹ Forbes, vol. i. p. 353.

Alarm of the Guises

So extreme had been the terror, according to the Ambassador, that on the night when the attack was expected, the Duke of Guise, the Cardinal of Lorraine, the Grand Prior, and all the Knights of the Order who were at Amboise, watched all night long in the Court, and the gates of the town were shut and kept.¹

On March 9 Throckmorton was able to announce that the first alarm was over. Writing to Cecil, he said: "A conspiracy has been here revealed against the house of Guise, which has much troubled them. It is somewhat appeased, and the King goes abroad on hunting."

In a letter, of March 8, to his brother, the Bishop of Arras, Chantonay spoke of the excessive alarm into which the Ministers had been thrown, adding that a rumour had been spread officially that a plot had been contrived against the King, the elder and younger Queens, His Majesty's brothers, and the House of Guise.²

How far did the Guises believe that the King was the destined victim? The Spanish Ambassador's letter shows that he fully understood their cleverness in diverting the dimly understood conspiracy from their own shoulders to those of their royal master. They could punish swiftly and cruelly traitors who had armed themselves against the monarch, and his peril would serve as a sufficient excuse for their severities to foreign Catholic powers, as well as to Queen Elizabeth, with her lofty ideas of personal sovereignty. To their sister in Scotland they wrote that the object of the conspirators had been to kill

¹ Forbes, vol. i. pp. 354, 355.

² Letter quoted in the *Revue Historique*, vol. xiv. pp. 85, 86.

The Attempt and Failure

them both, "and then to take the King, and give him masters and governors to bring him up in this wretched doctrine." ¹

On April 9, after quiet had been restored, the Guises wrote to their sister that the object of the conspirators had been "to kill the King; and they did not forget us." ²

The Duke of Guise, according to the indications of contemporary writers, must have contented himself with seeing to the military preparations, and with securing the Castle and town against a sudden onslaught. Morally the hero of Metz and Calais was as completely effaced during the affair of Amboise as his niece, the girl-Queen, who moves, throughout the reign, as a shadowy consort beside a shadowy monarch.

The doings of the Court were a daily illustration of the truth of Brantôme's delineation of the Cardinal's temperament. On March 6 he apprehended danger, gathered soldiers about him, watched all night under arms, kept the King and Queen closely mewed up. Three days passed without sign of the enemy's approach; then he let his birds loose, and flew out with them.

Chantonay reported about March 10 that Francis II. and the Court had gone on a hunting expedition to Chenonceaux. "In three days," he writes, "these lords here have lost all their alarm, after having made a great show of terror, and kept themselves close in the Castle, guarded by a watch and by many knights of the Order." ³ "Now," he added, "the

¹ *Foreign Calendar*, "Elizabeth," vol. ii. p. 461.

² Forbes, vol. i. p. 400.

³ *Revue Historique*, vol. xiv. p. 87.

The King and Queen go Hunting

King goes hunting and hawking. It is true that some of his Court ride on war-horses, if they have them, and two or three grooms keep Spanish and Turkish mounts in reserve." Chantonay supposed that Francis and Mary, with their suite, would travel by the Cher from Chenonceaux to Tours. The King, he said, had slipped off so quietly that his bed had been left behind, and was to be sent after him, with other personal property.¹ The Cardinal, though he had forbidden the use of pistols and firearms, long, sleeveless cloaks, and wide boots, in which weapons could be concealed, had no intention of shutting himself up at Amboise while his young master went abroad. Chantonay, writing from Amboise after the departure of the Court, said: "The Chancellor [Ollivier] is here, who can only deal with the affairs of private persons in the Cardinal's absence." ²

The Spanish Ambassador believed that the Cardinal was in fear of his life, and reports the oft-told tale that he had gone in disguise, while in Rome, to consult a Jewish astrologer, who had warned him that he would be killed in the thirty-sixth or thirty-seventh year of his age.³ Other prophecies of the wizard, it was reported, had been verified by the event, and there is reason to believe that this modern-minded ecclesiastic was not free from the superstitions of his age. Let him have credit at least for refusing to send the young royal pair into any danger which he did not share. Perhaps he thought, as he searched the silvery reaches of the Loire and Cher and the

¹ *Revue Historique*, vol. xiv. p. 87.

² *Ibid.* p. 88.

³ *Ibid.* p. 90. The Cardinal had entered on his thirty-sixth year at the time of the Tumult.

The Attempt and Failure

deep woodland glades for the mysterious hidden enemy—

“Danger knows full well
That Cæsar is more dangerous than he.”

The breathing-space was of short duration. Renewed whispers of peril must have caused a quick return. About March 12 the first of La Renaudie's straggling followers were arrested. Two prisoners had been brought to the Castle in the first week of March and cruelly tortured. As to the use of torture on others there is unhappily no room for doubt.

The plans of the leaders had been disconcerted by the removal of the Court from Blois, and probably also by the difficulty of gathering their forces together from all parts of the country. There was no treason, as we understand the word, in the thoughts of the mixed multitude who, by high roads, river-banks, and wooded paths, approached the King's home in the second week of March. Some had been recruited by La Renaudie in Switzerland, and had no clear idea of his purpose, beyond the fact that they were to appeal for the granting of religious liberty.

On March 8 the Guises had published a tardy and useless edict, proclaiming an amnesty on condition that all should henceforth live as good Catholics. The wounds of the commonwealth were too deep for such slight healing.

Many of the conspirators believed that Condé, their “silent captain,” would be waiting for their entrance into the town of Amboise, and after the arrest of the Guises would be their spokesman to the King. It must have been widely known that Coligny was in the Castle, and that Andelot was

Attitude of Condé and Coligny

expected.¹ Could the simple gentlemen of the reforming party suspect that these powerful men, who had good reason to hate the Guises, and whose sympathy with the new doctrines was notorious both in France and Switzerland, would not in the moment of crisis espouse their cause? Would not Condé or Coligny call for the trial of the Ministers, to be followed by a religious amnesty? It may safely be asserted that there would have been no Tumult of Amboise if La Renaudie's followers had remembered the warning: "Put not your trust in princes." None of the French leaders on either side gained credit in these March weeks, but the whole burden of the responsibility for the cruel suppression of the Tumult cannot rest upon the Guises. Andelot, writing to the Constable, described the conspirators as "les révoltés," and breathed a pious prayer that God might by His grace correct all the evil and pernicious wills.²

The final arrangements for the execution of the plot were made at the Château of Carretière, near Amboise. March 16 was the date agreed upon. All was revealed by another traitor—Lignières. The Duke instantly took measures of defence, walling up the gate by which the conspirators were to enter, and securing all the approaches to the town. Bodies of cavalry were sent into the woods to intercept the stragglers. The Duke of Nemours caught several of La Renaudie's captains at Noizay, and persuaded them to surrender on promise of life and liberty.

¹ M. Paillard points out that the Cardinal Odet de Châtillon was the first of the three brothers to join the Court at Amboise, that Coligny was there about February 24, and that Andelot arrived with Condé about March 15.

² Letter of March 26. Professor Marcks thinks that Andelot's letter to his uncle was meant for the eyes of the Guises.

The Attempt and Failure

No sooner had the hapless prisoners reached Amboise than they were flung into a dungeon. The plans of La Renaudie were disconcerted, and he himself perished in an obscure skirmish on March 19. Condé, the masked leader, was of no use to his supporters.¹ The young Prince, arriving on March 15, the day of the affair of Noizay, offered himself as a defender of the Castle, and was allowed to guard a gate under the supervision of the Grand Prior. Not a solitary friend remained to the insurgents within the walls. Hardly realising the peril of their position, peasants and town labourers allowed themselves to be caught in the snare. They had dreamt of standing before the King's face as a great and united company, and of pleading with him for reforms in Church and State. They arrived before the Castle a broken, helpless, leaderless host, and at the first mustering of the royal horse they abandoned the enterprise.

On March 17 the Duke of Guise was appointed Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, with supreme military power. He set himself at once to stamp out the last embers of rebellion. The Duke and the Cardinal, according to Throckmorton's letter of March 21, lived in great fear, and knew not whom to trust. They were aware that La Renaudie's followers had not acted without "the comfort and favour of some great ones," and although they declared in public that the enterprise had been designed against the King, they must have been full of secret dismay at the evidence of their own unpopularity. Angry and menacing faces, tearful and pleading faces, must

¹ Some historians doubt whether Condé had any real concern with the plot, though at the time he was regarded on both sides as the *chef mûr*.

The First Executions

have encountered them at every step in the halls and gardens of Amboise. Ollivier, it is said, warned them that the murder of so many simple people would be considered an enormous crime. By an edict of March 17, forgiveness was extended to all who had assembled in arms near the town of Amboise, for the purpose of presenting to the King a confession of their faith, on condition that they should, within twenty-four hours, return to their homes in companies of two or three. Five days later (March 22) a fresh edict excluded from the amnesty all who had taken an active share in the conspiracy. Chantonay noted that on the Sunday (March 17) when the Duke was made Lieutenant-General, the executions began. "I think," he writes, "from the number of prisoners they are bringing in that they will be forced to tie their hands together and fling them into the water, for it is impossible to carry out the executions otherwise."¹ There had been talk of shutting up the King and the two Queens in some strong fortress, and the town of Guise was suggested, but the death of La Renaudie rendered this precaution unnecessary.²

Giovanni Michiel described the sad gaieties on which the Court ventured on March 20 :—

"To show some sign of having taken heart and that suspicion had subsided, his Majesty this afternoon chose to go to the heronry, one league hence, accompanied by his brother-in-law, the Duke of Lorraine, who arrived postwise, having left the Duchess on the road near Orleans, she wishing to come by water. Both of them were called by the King to keep him company for a long while this summer. The two

¹ *Revue Historique*, vol. xiv. p. 313.

² *Ibid.* p. 329.

The Attempt and Failure

Queens also went to a palace of the Queen Mother's, two leagues hence (Chenonceaux), but they will return this evening after supper." ¹

An extraordinary description of the Cardinal's fury is given by that remorseless Venetian critic, Michiel. The horrors of the dungeons of Amboise are scarcely relieved for modern readers by the thought that judicial torture was universally employed in that century even by the most civilised Governments.

Michiel informed the Doge and Senate that several prisoners had said openly they were in the service of the Prince of Condé,

"they having been invested at Orleans with his arms and provisions, and having received four crowns each for maintenance and earnest money. These men were immediately sent to the Duke de Guise and to the Cardinal, in whose presence they made the same confession, and it has been told me that the Cardinal, from inability to contain himself dashed his beretta to the ground in a rage, stamping on it several times." ²

When Condé, at Chenonceaux, justified himself in bold words, and offered to lay aside his princely rank, and meet in the duel any lord who dared to accuse him of treason, the generous heart of Francis of Guise was stirred within him, and he offered to act as the Prince's second.

But it was rumoured by many persons present, says Michiel, "that during this conversation the

¹ *Venetian Calendar*, vol. vii. p. 163.

² *Ibid.* p. 164.

The Cardinal's Rage

Cardinal of Lorraine, who was behind the King's chair, kept his eyes most sternly fixed on the ground, in sorrow, without ever raising them, nor did he make any sign of assent or satisfaction with what was said." ¹

¹ *Venetian Calendar*, vol. vii. p. 182.

CHAPTER XV.—(*continued*)

THE TUMULT OF AMBOISE

(3) *The Revenge*

The Duke of Guise and the cruelties of Amboise—Number of the victims—Did Mary Stuart watch the executions?—Statements of contemporary writers—The scenes of horror—Death of the Chancellor Ollivier—Removal of the Court from Amboise to Marmoutier—The services of Holy Week—Interruption of a sermon by the Cardinal—The war of pamphlets—Persecuting spirit of the Government—The “Letter to the Tiger of France”—Mary and her uncles.

IN discussing the severities of the Guises after the Tumult of Amboise, we must consider the position of the Duke Francis. He had been for eight years before the eyes of all Europe, the sword and shield of France. By his conduct at Metz in 1552 he had won renown as the greatest and most merciful captain of his age, and if the Italian campaign had somewhat dimmed his laurels, the failure had been retrieved by the seizure of Calais, which drove the English from their last foothold on French soil. The love of personal popularity was for three generations a powerful motive with the princes of his house. He had believed himself, with good reason, the idol of the nation. With what feelings must he have regarded a conspiracy which had for its avowed object the arrest of himself and his brother as usurpers and maladministrators, their public trial and probable

Position of the Duke of Guise

sentence? The Duke was very young when he received, fighting for France, that glorious wound which was a perpetual disfigurement. How could any Frenchman of that age, we must ask, look on the battle-worn features of Ambroise Paré's patient, without a thrill of gratitude and affection? Brantôme tells us that the Duke not only cared for the welfare of the common soldiers, but took them into his confidence and sought their advice. Yet the conspirators of Amboise proposed to take this hero like a rat in a trap, and to march past his fettered body into the presence of the King. Excuses may be made for them—and they need excuses. Their leader, La Renaudie, had forgotten that the Duke of Guise had delivered him from the forger's cell at Dijon, and had given him an opportunity of retrieving his career. He held that the murder of his relative, Gaspard Le Heu, in the Castle of Vincennes, cancelled all obligations. The Duke's mistake was the failure to realise that the true means of preserving his popularity was to let the mob of Amboise, leaders and followers alike, disperse safely beyond the Loire. Had he granted freedom even to the Baron de Castelnau, who surrendered on a promise from the Duke of Nemours, the blackness of the cloud would have been lightened. The reluctance of historians to admit the responsibility of the great captain for the executions of Amboise may be measured by the ferocity of their attacks on his brother.

We have no means of estimating accurately the number of the victims. Chalmel, in his history of Touraine,¹ says: "Blood flowed in great waves through

¹ Vol. ii. p. 346. The story of Chalmel is evidently founded on De Thou, and he, again, seems to have before him in every sentence the narrative of Regnier de la Planche.

The Revenge

the town of Amboise : the Loire bed was covered with the corpses of those who had been flung into its waters. The streets were choked with dead bodies, and the public squares were not large enough to contain the gallows and scaffolds. More than fifteen hundred persons perished during the executions."

On the other hand, M. Cartier, a learned antiquary who examined carefully all the local records, remarks that if so appalling a massacre had taken place, there must have been an outbreak of disease in the closely crowded town, but there is not in the local records any trace of infectious illness having occurred at this time.¹ M. Cartier thinks there were only two gibbets, one on the bridge, on which La Renaudie's body was exposed, the other in the small square known as Le Carroy, on which four heads were fastened, those of Castelnau, Raunay, Mazères, and Villemongis.

Vincent Carloix, in the *Memoirs of Vieilleville*, gives the number of the drowned as four hundred and sixty.² This statement, though possibly exaggerated, must, we think, be nearer the truth than that of Chalmel.

Throckmorton, writing on March 21, said : " The xvi of this present there were about fifty persones more taken, for the moost part artificers : whiche being brought before the King and sumwhat said unto them, they were all, saving four of the chieftest, dismissed and pardoned : to whome, for that they were spoiled, the King gave a crowne apece to every of them ; and to one, who was hurt in the head, five crownes." ³

¹ *Essais historiques sur la ville d'Amboise*.

² *Mémoires de Vieilleville* (Collection Petitot), vol. xxvii. p. 430.

³ Forbes, vol. i. p. 377. Throckmorton's statement is confirmed by that of Michiel. The two must be compared at every point with the story as told by Chantonay.

Prisoners Hanged and Drowned

Here we have the clearest possible indication, from a hostile source, that the Guises did not make war against the poor men of France.

The Cardinal dismissed the "artificers" with alms, because he wished to strike the leaders only. Like our own Stephen Gardiner, he stooped at the highest game.¹

Throckmorton's estimate of the number of the sufferers deserves to be quoted. After describing the attempt on the Castle on March 17, he said:—

"This heat caused upon a suddain a sharp determination to minister justice, and the two last taken were the same fornone hanged, and two others for cumpeny; and afterwarde the same day diverse were taken, and in the evening nyne more were hanged; all of which dyed very assuredly and constantly for religion, in singing of psalmis. Diverse were drowned in sacks and somme appointed to dye upon the whele. Amongst all those that were taken, Monsieur de Sansar, a knight of th' order, found twenty-five in a house together; and because they wold not come furthe, he set the house on fier: whereupon they issued, and one of them, seing his fellowes taken, returned backe and burned himself. The xvii of this present there were twenty-two of these rebellis drownit in sacks, and the xviii of the same at night twenty-five more. Emong all these which be taken, there be eighteen of the bravest captains in France."²

Throckmorton, therefore, estimated the dead at about sixty up to March 18.³

¹ When, in November 1559, news came to the Court of an overthrow of the Scots by the French troops, Killigrew and Jones wrote of the Cardinal: "He greatly threatens the noblemen of Scotland but uses clemency to the rest." *Foreign Calendar*, "Elizabeth," vol. ii. p. 148.

² Forbes, vol. i. p. 378.

³ The executions continued, however, till the end of the month, the most highly placed victims being reserved for the last.

The Revenge

The indications from Chantonay's correspondence are important. On March 28, after the rising had been suppressed, he wrote that twenty-one or twenty-two had been publicly executed, besides fifty or more drowned, and a great many sent to the galleys. Five days earlier, on March 23, he had informed Margaret of Parma that the King went out daily on hunting expeditions, and was planning a second excursion to Chenonceaux. Castelnau praised Catherine de' Medici for her appeals on behalf of the prisoners.¹

How far was Mary Stuart, Queen Consort of France, implicated as a spectator in the executions of Amboise? Extraordinary charges against her are current in modern histories. Principal Lindsay, for example, says: "She led her boy husband and her ladies for a walk round the Castle of Amboise, to see the bodies of dozens of Protestants hung from lintels and turrets, and to contemplate 'the fair clusters of grapes which the grey stones had produced.'"²

The learned historian of the Reformation here goes beyond the words of Regnier de la Planche, the chief authority, on the Protestant side, for the incidents of the Tumult. That writer does not even

¹ *Mémoires de Castelnau* (Le Laboureur), vol. i. p. 18. Michiel says, writing on March 23: "Other prisoners are being sentenced to death daily, nor will the Queen Mother pardon any of them" (*Venetian Calendar*, vol. vii. p. 165). Catherine had not the power, even if she had the will, to pardon. "She made herself small" at Amboise, as in many another crisis.

² *History of the Reformation*, vol. ii. p. 310. As Dr. Lindsay mentions as his authority the Lavissee historian, we turn with natural anxiety to the pages of Professor Marićjol (vol. vi. part i. p. 18). He says: "Le jeune Roi, la jeune Reine, les dames, venaient après le dîner se récréer de ces scènes de mort." Professor Marićjol quotes no authority for his assertion, but it is evident, from the rest of his description of the Tumult of Amboise, that he is following Regnier de la Planche.

Did Mary watch the Executions?

mention the name of Mary Stuart as a watcher of the executions, far less as a ringleader in the sport of seeing the martyrs die.¹

He says that according to custom the executions took place after dinner. The dinner-hour, in that age, was from ten to twelve. "The Guises," says Regnier de la Planche, "did this on purpose to give some amusement to the ladies, who were getting tired of being shut up so long in one place. And the truth is that the lords and ladies were placed at the windows of the castle, as if some mask or mummerly was to be witnessed." The lordly spectators, he adds, showed no signs of sympathy or pity. "The worst thing of all is that the King and his young brothers appeared at these spectacles, as if they [the Guises] had wished to embitter them, and the Cardinal pointed out the sufferers to them with signs of joy, so that he might stir up this prince the more against his subjects. For when they died with special bravery, he said, "Behold, Sir, these insolent madmen! See how even the fear of death has not been able to lower their pride and felony; what would they do if they had you in their hands?"

Agrippa d'Aubigné, who, like Regnier de la Planche, wrote from first-hand evidence, says that the sight of the executions "amazed the King, his brothers, and all the ladies of the court, who watched from the terraces and windows of the castle."²

An important detail is given in one of Chantonay's letters. He mentions that the King, the Queen

¹ Nor is Mary's name mentioned by De Thou, Castelnau, La Place, or D'Aubigné. We may assume, perhaps, that she was among the ladies who looked from the windows of Amboise; we have not the slightest reason to suppose that she was a *zélatrice*.

² *Histoire Universelle*, vol. i. p. 270.

The Revenge

above his head ; four heads on the edge of the platform, and four huddled bodies beneath it ; a gallows on which heads are transfixed, and a group of prisoners led to execution.

Villemongis, one of the sufferers at Amboise, dipped his hands in the blood of his companions, and cried aloud, " This is the blood of Thy children, Lord : Thou wilt avenge it." ¹ Swiftly, terribly, that prediction was fulfilled in the annals of the house of Guise.

From the true record of the Tumult of Amboise, wild and foolish stories must be eliminated. Modern historians reject the legend of the death of the Chancellor Ollivier, who cried amid his last agonies : " Ha, ha, Cardinal, all our souls are lost through you ! "

" Lost, lost ! " the Duke of Guise is said to have repeated ; " that scoundrel was lying ! "

We know at least that Ollivier was not " flung into the kennel like a dog that he is," as La Planche reports the sentence of the Duke ; but was buried in all honour at his parish Church of Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois. His funeral sermon was preached by Claude Despençe, a friend and former tutor of the Cardinal of Lorraine, from the text : " Ego autem sicut oliva fructifera in domo Dei ; speravi in misericordia Dei in æternum ; et in sæculum sæculi." ² The sermon,

¹ Writing on the death of Villemongis, De Thou says : " Les princes de Guise avoient fait en sorte que les frères du Roy se trouvassent à cette exécution ; à dessein, comme plusieurs le disoient, de les accoustumer au sang dès leur jeunesse. Tous les grands de la Cour et tout ce qu'il y avoit de dames estoient aux fenestres pour voir ce spectacle " (vol. ii. p. 105).

The Huguenots, it is clear, saw in the bloody exhibition presented to the nine-year-old Charles, heir-apparent to the throne, a foreshadowing of the horrors of the St. Bartholomew.

² Psalm li. 10 in the Latin version (in ours, Psalm lii. 9).

The Chancellor Ollivier

choked as it is with classical and Scriptural allusions, was obviously preached in good faith. Claude Despençe, as far as we can judge from his writings and his public action, was a learned and honest Churchman, not without a sense of humour. If he had believed the current Huguenot legend of the Chancellor's last words, could he, with any decency, have preached that sermon, from the punning text, "I am like a green olive-tree in the house of my God"?¹

As soon as it was safe to move, the Court set forth again for Chenonceaux. Catherine de' Medici erected triumphal arches on the estate as a welcome to her son, and notwithstanding the remonstrances recently uttered by Throckmorton, the arms of England and Scotland were displayed along with those of France. Inscriptions on the arches praised the wisdom of the youthful sovereign.

Easter in that year fell on April 14, and for the solemnities of Holy Week the Court removed to Marmoutier, close to Tours, of which the Cardinal of Lorraine was Abbot. As the Chief Minister of State, he could not withdraw himself into the stillness of the country, as was his custom at Passiontide, but the hallowed and gracious influences of the season awoke, as ever, something of his better nature. To modern readers it seems almost impossible that the Churchman whose eyes had blazed with fury as he stamped on his biretta at Amboise, or veiled

¹ It is hardly necessary to repeat the familiar story, told by La Planche, of the Chancellor's encounter with the Cardinal in his dying hour. "It is a temptation of the evil one, my brother," said the prelate, as Ollivier uttered the fearful words: "Ha, ha, Cardinal, tu nous fais tous damner." "Well said, well met," cried the dying man, and turned his face to the wall, to shut out the vision of the tempting fiend. Le Laboureur, in his *Additions aux Mémoires de Castelnau*, was one of the first to throw doubt on this legend (vol. i. p. 391).

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themselves with sullen malevolence as he listened at Chenonceaux to the exculpation of Condé, or looked, in the dungeons, without pity on the tortured bodies of Raunay and Mazères, should presume, a few days afterwards, to direct the devotions of Christian men and women. As a proof of our slow understanding of sixteenth-century modes of thinking, it is only necessary to quote Michiel's report of the services at Marmoutier. "During the whole of this Passion week nothing has been attended to but the sermons of the Cardinal of Lorraine, which gathered very great congregations, not only to his praise, but to the universal astonishment and admiration, both on account of his doctrines, and by reason of his very fine gesticulation, and incomparable eloquence and mode of utterance. He preached publicly all these days in the presence of the King, of the Queens, and of all the other Princes and Lords of the Court, in the church of one of his abbacies, called Marmoutier, in the suburbs of Tours, whither his Majesty withdrew to keep Easter, for which reason every sort of business was at an end." ¹

Michiel was well aware that the most eloquent sermons could not reconcile an offended nation. "Notwithstanding these sermons and other good works of the Cardinal," he said, "those who abhor him on account of religion and for other causes did not fail to defame him by libels and writings placarded publicly in several places in Paris, where they were seen and read by everyone who wished." ²

If the Guises had imagined that all was tranquil, an incident, reported by Chantonay, must have undeceived them. A man was seen to be wandering

¹ *Venetian Calendar*, vol. vii. p. 187.

² *Ibid.*

Popular Hatred of the Guises

about the Abbey Church of Marmoutier during sermon time, and was immediately arrested. He was bidden either to listen to the preaching or to leave the building. He replied that he did not wish to listen to "that hateful and accursed man, the Cardinal."¹

The war of pamphlets had already begun, and the Spanish Ambassador wrote that the Court, as well as Orleans, Paris, and other towns, was full of libellous writings directed against his Eminence. In some he was represented with his head on the block, ready for decapitation.²

That the Guises did not mean to make peace with the heretics is proved by a letter sent by the King in Holy Week to M. de Tavannes on the troubles in Dauphiné.³ The King had heard that three or four thousand sectaries had gathered at Valence, Romans, and Montélimar, where they caused sermons to be publicly preached after the manner of Geneva, and carried out all other insolent actions they could think of. Tavannes was ordered to assemble troops and to "cut them in pieces" if he found them still assembled when he arrived. In another sentence the boy King was made to write: "I desire nothing more than to exterminate them entirely, and to cut down their root so well that there shall be no further growth."⁴ Swift trials and immediate punishments

¹ *Revue Historique*, vol. xiv. p. 352.

² This statement is confirmed by other contemporary writers, such as Michiel and Throckmorton.

³ *Négociations sous François II.*, pp. 341-343. M. Louis Paris, editor of this invaluable collection, describes the letter, which was dated "the 12th day of April 1559 before Easter," as "a curious monument of the fury of the Guises."

⁴ "Je ne désire rien plus que de les exterminer du tout, et en couper si bien la racine que par cy-après il n'en soyt nouvelles." *Négociations sous François II.*, p. 342.

The Revenge

were ordered. Can we wonder if Francis, in his dim intellect, realised that something was far amiss with the body politic, and in the words of a Huguenot historian, cried out, "What have I done to my people?"

The fiercest of the pamphlets directed in this year against the Cardinal was the "Letter to the Tiger of France," written and published anonymously by François Hotman at Strisbourg. So terrible is this small tract in its concentrated hatred that even to-day we read it with a shudder. Every line, says Henri Martin, seems traced with the point of the sword dipped in the blood of the martyrs. Another writer compares it to a culverin loaded to the mouth. The author weighs each word with cool deliberation, chooses every epithet for a calculated effect, and works up to a climax which leaves the reader shaken and appalled. The parts are reversed, and we hear, not from the victim, but from the accuser, the low growling of the tiger ere he leaps upon his prey. The deep and threatening notes proclaim a Dies Irae for the persecutor. "Detestable monster, everyone knows you, everyone sees you, and you are living still. Can you not hear the blood cry aloud of him whom you caused to be strangled in a room in the forest of Vincennes? If he was guilty, why was he not punished publicly? Where are the witnesses who accused him? Why did you by his death break all the laws of France? . . . If you take my advice you will fly and hide yourself in some den, some desert place whence neither breath nor news of you can reach the ears of men. Thus alone will you avoid the points of a hundred thousand swords which are turned upon you every day."

Queen Mary must have known of the widespread

The "Letter to the Tiger of France"

hatred with which her uncle was regarded. During the meeting of the Notables at Fontainebleau (August 1560), the Cardinal said it was his custom to collect pamphlets published against himself. "There are twenty-two on my table at this moment," he remarked. "I preserve them carefully, for it is the greatest honour I shall ever receive to be blamed by such scoundrels. I hope they will form the true eulogy of my life, and make me immortal." These were brave words, but the statesman could never have forgiven the author of *Le Tigre*. Every word in the cruel indictment must have pierced his heart. The Duke of Guise could never have forgiven it, for the honour of his house was assailed. The people of Paris were furious at the unexampled insult, and resolved that a victim must be found. A printer named Martin Lhomme was found with the pamphlet in his possession, and hurried to the gallows, after vain attempts to force from him by torture the name of the author. The populace were so excited that they pressed upon the guards who were taking Lhomme to execution, and threatened to lynch the prisoner. A peaceable merchant of Rouen, named Robert Dehors, who had just arrived in Paris, and was still in riding-boots, ventured to remonstrate with the crowd. "Good people," he said, "let the hangman do his work. Don't soil your hands with the blood of a poor wretch who is just about to perish." Instantly the mob turned upon Dehors. To save him from their violence the archers dragged him off to prison, and, though perfectly innocent, he emerged only to perish on the spot where Martin Lhomme was hanged.

CHAPTER XVI

THE SUMMER OF 1560

A gloomy summer in France—The Royal hunting-parties—Catherine de' Medici, the Guises, and Mary Stuart—The Scottish Reformation—Illness and death of Mary of Lorraine—The Cardinal's tribute to his sister—Funeral sermon for the Regent preached in Paris by Claude Despencc—His references to Queen Mary—Dedication of the sermon to Mary—Throckmorton's interviews with Mary at Fontainebleau in August—The meeting of the Notables at Fontainebleau.

THE summer did not open very brightly for Francis and Mary. They were too young to appreciate the force of that suggestion made by Louis XI. to Quentin Durward, "There is no perfume to match the scent of a dead traitor." Along the beautiful Loire valley "acorns" as strange as those which Durward noticed on the covein-tree of Plessis-les-Tours must have startled their eyes on hunting expeditions. Probably the Cardinal may have comforted them with the suggestion of Louis: "These are so many banners displayed to scare knaves; and for each rogue that hangs there, an honest man may reckon that there is a thief, a traitor, a robber on the highway, a piller and oppressor of the people, the fewer in France." But the young Queen must have recognised by many signs that the policy of her uncles was disapproved by a large section of the nobility, nay, that they were themselves regarded as robbers and oppressors of

A Gloomy Summer

the people, who ought to be pushed by the King's justice. Gloom, suspicion, and fear haunted the chambers of each royal residence. Paris had been quiet during the Tumult, yet from Paris came the news that the mob were threatening to burn the Hôtel de Guise, the Hôtel de Cury (a town residence of the Cardinal, as Abbot of Cury), and his unfinished château at Meudon. The fact that he had been hanged in effigy in Paris was known to every one at Court.¹ Madame de Raunay, wife of the gallant Captain Raunay, who was tortured and executed at Amboise, was one of Mary's ladies-in-waiting, and although there is no evidence that the Queen was ever in the torture chamber the agonies of the sufferers must have been mentioned in her presence.² The men on whom she and her husband might naturally have leaned went in daily fear of assassination, and were guarded closely by faithful followers. As the Cardinal rode from Amboise to Marmoutier on April 6, the French guard, armed with pistols, accompanied him.³ Thus early, by personal observation, Mary must have learned that "there is no receipt against fear." On June 21, Michiel mentioned that the Cardinal had determined to have himself followed and accompanied by ten brave and faithful men, who were to keep as close to his side as they could,

¹ Michiel says: "It is reported that in several places in Paris his painted effigy in his Cardinal's robes has been seen, at one time hanging by the feet, at another with the head severed and the body divided into four quarters, as was done to those who were condemned." *Venetian Calendar*, vol. vii. pp. 189, 190. See also Alfonso Torna-buoni's letter of April 23. *Négociations de la France avec la Toscane*, vol. iii. p. 416.

² *Venetian Calendar*, vol. vii. p. 175.

³ *Foreign Calendar*, "Elizabeth," vol. ii. p. 507. See also *Venetian Calendar*, vol. vii. p. 165 and p. 226.

The Summer of 1560

“each man with a loaded pistol under his cloak, as much concealed as possible.” That this was no special evidence of cowardice on the Churchman’s part was admitted by the Ambassador, in the words which follow: “The Duke of Guise, when in the country and away from the Court, having done long the like.” Hardly a day passed without the discovery in the halls, private rooms, or corridors of the palaces, of some “note and writings of evil nature, abusing the Cardinal of Lorraine, against whom the plots continue, the indignation against him augmenting, although his Right Reverend Lordship,” added the sarcastic Venetian, “omits no suitable diligence for self-preservation.”¹

Depression and sadness ruled at Court in May and June, while central France was putting forth the early freshness of her summer, and the King and Queen led an outdoor life, “in villages and woods,” spending long days in the saddle, and at night sleeping in the houses of private gentlemen. Health and hope ought to have attended them in the forest glades round Chartres and Chateaudun, but the sunlight flickering between young leaves could not remove the deep and awful shadows that were gathering on their way. Mary especially must have dreaded the sight of every new messenger from Scotland, for the political situation in her realm was becoming desperate, and the health of her mother failed from week to week. We read that on the 25th of April ‘the French Queen made very great lamentations, and wept bitterly, and as it is reported, said that her

¹ *Venetian Calendar*, vol. vii. p. 180. See also the Florentine Ambassador’s remark, *Négociations de la France avec la Toscane*, vol. iii. p. 410.

Royal Hunting-Parties

uncles had undone her, and caused her to lose her realm." ¹

According to another account, when the Queen Regent's danger was made known, Mary "would take no sort of comfort or consolation given her either by the most Christian King, by the Queen Mother, by her uncles, or by the other Princes and Princesses of the Court; she shed most bitter tears incessantly, and at length, from anguish and sorrow, had taken to her bed." ²

Aimlessly the royal hunting-parties moved from castle to castle, no man knowing overnight where the King would lodge on the morrow.³ He was seen in the Sologne and the Beauce and Perche districts, at Maillebois, Chartres, Danpierre, and at St. Léger, where he kept his racing stud.⁴

The influence of the Guises was markedly declining through the summer, and that of Catherine de' Medici was quietly growing. We need not believe the story of Chantonay, that Mary was encouraged to act submissively towards the Queen Mother, in order that she might plausibly declare at a suitable moment that she was kept in perpetual servitude

¹ *Foreign Calendar*, "Elizabeth," vol. ii. p. 597.

² *Venetian Calendar*, vol. vii. p. 198. From Chateaudun on June 16, Michiel wrote that the Cardinal, during the last three days, had been greatly troubled with anxieties and melancholy, which had affected his health. Throckmorton, who talked with him at Amboise six weeks earlier, noted that "his countenance and gestures in this talk were so demure and grave, mixed with a kind of pitiful plaint that they would have persuaded a man that did not well know him, and know also what a Frenchman is in a little adversity."

³ *Foreign Calendar*, "Elizabeth," vol. iii. p. 144.

⁴ Alfonso Tornabuoni wrote on June 15: "Noi non sappiamo dove si vada, nè quel che si facci; e la caccia del cervio fu la grande occupazione della corte. Ed è questo il vero modo da fuggire la tela de' negozii." *Négociations de la France avec la Toscane*, vol. iii. p. 421.

The Summer of 1560

and subjection, and that Catherine, a widowed Queen, might be dismissed to her estates, like Queen Eleanor, widow of Francis.¹ The delicate health of Francis made it impossible that his mother's care should be withdrawn from him. But as an ultimate policy, the Guises may naturally have contemplated, for their niece's sake, the termination of an arrangement which kept Mary under the tutelage of her mother-in-law. The inner secrets of French politics during the short and troubled reign of Francis II. have never been fully disentangled. Catherine's influence in such events as the appointment of Michel de l'Hôpital to the Chancellorship, in the Edict of Romorantin and the summoning of the Notables to Fontainebleau, may possibly have been exaggerated. We may safely assume, however, that, as she watched the discomfiture and humiliation of the Guises, the declining health of her eldest son, the swift extension and bold profession of the Reformed doctrines in every part of the country, the adhesion of great nobles to the cause, and the rise of the "political" supporters of the Huguenots, Catherine must have realised that the prize of the Regency might soon be within her grasp, that her subtle, adaptable intellect might ere long be paramount in the realm.

The course of public affairs in Scotland had been, from the beginning of their reign, an anxious pre-occupation for Mary and Francis. On the 29th of June 1559, less than a fortnight before the death of Henry II., the Lords of the Congregation had entered Edinburgh in triumph. Kirkaldy of Grange wrote to Sir Henry Percy on the following day that the Reformers were pulling down all manner of friaries

¹ Letter quoted in the *Revue Historique*, vol. xiv. p. 353.

Events in Scotland

and some abbeys, which did not willingly receive the Reformation. "They have never as yet meddled with a pennyworth of that which pertains to the Church, but presently they will take order throughout all the parts where they dwell, that all the fruits of the abbeys and other churches shall be kept and bestowed upon the faithful ministers, until such time as a further order be taken. Some suppose the Queen, seeing no other remedy, will follow their desires, which is, a general reformation throughout the whole realm conform to the pure word of God, and the Frenchmen to be sent away. If her grace will do so, they will obey her, and serve her, and annex the whole revenue of the abbeys to the crown ; if her grace will not be content with this, they are determined to hear of no agreement."

The leaders of the Congregation included Glencairn, Argyll, and the Lord James ; and although Châtelherault remained for the moment with the Regent, he has been rightly called the Antoine de Bourbon of Scotland. Mary of Lorraine was able to oppose a small force of French veterans, who had served under her brother, to the large, but ill-disciplined army of the Lords. Hatred of France was an even more powerful motive with the Congregation than the desire for religious reform, and shrewd statesmen such as Maitland of Lethington were already preparing the way for an alliance with England. The double-dealing of the Regent had inflamed the fury of her enemies. When the Earl of Glencairn and Sir Hew Campbell reminded her of her previous promises to the Reformers, Mary replied, in the true diplomatic language of her time, "It becomes not subjects to burden their princes further than it

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pleaseth them to keep the same." The breach of her promise to Erskine of Dun in May 1559 gave the signal for the Scottish Reformation. She had agreed to postpone action against the preachers, but she proclaimed them as outlaws when they failed to appear at Stirling on the day appointed for their trial.¹

In July a temporary truce was arranged at Leith. The Congregation agreed to give up the coining irons of the Mint, and to quit Edinburgh within twenty-four hours. The Protestants obtained in return the right to exercise their own religion in Edinburgh, provided they abstained from violence against the Catholics, and the Regent promised to introduce no French troops into the capital.

In October 1559, Mary of Lorraine was deposed from the Regency by formal proclamation. She and her party took no notice of an act which had been drawn up without the sanction of the spiritual Lords or the Estates. The Regent's policy had been to temporise and grant concessions, until she was reinforced by the arrival of troops from France. Her deposition was carried out in the names of her daughter and her son-in-law, who were entirely ignorant of it.²

The Queen Regent's French troops were established at Leith during the autumn, vainly besieged by the Congregation. In February 1560 Queen Elizabeth and the Scottish Lords signed the Treaty of Berwick. The Earl of Arran, who had been forced, owing to his Protestant sympathies, to escape from France, had joined the Reformers in September, and

¹ Prof. Hume Brown, *History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 57.

² "It must be admitted," writes Mr. P. F. Tytler, "that this violent and unprecedented measure, although attempted to be concealed under the name and authority of the sovereign, was an act of open rebellion." *History of Scotland*, vol. vi. (1866), pp. 146, 147.

Death of Mary of Lorraine

his father, the Duke of Châtelherault, was now openly identified with the Protestant cause. Misfortune after misfortune fell upon the Regent. Her youngest brother, René, Marquis d'Elbœuf, set out with a well-manned fleet to her rescue, but was driven back by storms. At the end of March, while her brothers were stamping out the last embers of the Tumult of Amboise, the dying Princess was received within the walls of Edinburgh Castle. She passed away on June 10, at the age of forty-five. The story of her last days has been told with pathos and tenderness by many historians. Her faults, as Sismondi says of her brother Charles, were those of her age ; her virtues were her own ; and she displayed in her closing hours that firm fortitude and queenly generosity which were characteristic of her illustrious race. Her dying thoughts were occupied with the future of the young nation which she had hoped to train, and she advised that both the French and English armies should be sent out of the kingdom. History records few more touching interviews than that between the Regent and the leaders of the Congregation.¹

The letters of Francis II., the Queen Mother, and the Cardinal of Lorraine, written to the Bishop of

¹ Professor Hume Brown says : " Alike by her own character and gifts, and by the momentous policy of which she was the agent, Mary of Lorraine is one of the remarkable figures in Scottish history. It was her misfortune—a misfortune due to her birth and connections—that she found herself from the first in direct antagonism to the natural development of the country of her adoption, and that the circumstances in which she ruled were such as to bring into prominence the least worthy traits of the proud race from which she sprang. Yet in personal appearance, as in courage and magnificence, she was the true sister of Francis of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine, the Pope and King of France." *History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 69.

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Limoges from Loches on May 21, should be carefully compared with the Bishop of Valence's account of his interviews with the Lords of the Congregation in Edinburgh. The Cardinal, and the King whose words he dictated, displayed some nervousness in communications which were intended for the ears of Philip II. They appealed to the Spanish monarch to use his influence in averting war with England, to "put the bridle" in the mouth of Queen Elizabeth, and if necessary to make a demonstration of willingness to intervene by force of arms. In the letters from Loches there is already that whining note which affects us so unpleasantly in reading the correspondence which passed, twenty years later, between the Spanish monarch and Henry of Guise. We note also that the King and the Cardinal, writing to Philip, declare their resolution to refuse liberty of worship in Scotland; while from the long and minute narrative of their emissary, Montluc, it appears that the question of religion was not discussed between him and the Scottish Lords. They demanded as the primary condition of a settlement the destruction of the fortifications of Leith, and the removal of French troops from Scotland. The Bishop, one of the ablest and most experienced diplomatists in Europe, seems to have felt himself at a complete disadvantage.¹

The news of the death of Mary of Lorraine was known in France on June 18, but was kept from her

¹ For the letters from Loches, see *Négociations sous François II.*, pp. 377-391.

For Montluc's despatch, *ibid.* pp. 302-414.

To the Bishop of Limoges, on May 21, the Cardinal wrote: "The Scots are almost agreed with us, and there are only two points remaining: the first that they should abandon the English alliance, and the second that they should live according to their former faith and religion." *Négociations sous François II.*, p. 386.

The Cardinal's Tribute

daughter until the 28th.¹ Michiel wrote on June 30 : " The death of the Queen Regent of Scotland, her mother, was concealed from the most Christian Queen till the day before yesterday, when it was at length told her by the Cardinal of Lorraine ; for which her Majesty showed and still shows such signs of grief, that during the greater part of yesterday she passed from one agony to another." ²

A touching tribute to the memory of Mary of Guise is contained in a letter of the Cardinal of Lorraine to Chantonay, in reply to condolences from the Spanish Ambassador.³ After referring to the public loss sustained by the King and Queen, the writer said that he had " lost a sister whom I greatly loved and honoured for her virtues, which are so well known to everyone that it is hardly becoming for me, as so near a relative, to recount them. Well, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, such is the world, in which there is nothing fixed or certain ; and great Kings and great Princes must with others pay the debt from which none can be excused ; but it is needful that wise men, in proportion as God has given them more understanding than others, should conform themselves the more virtuously to His will, and bear

¹ *Venetian Calendar*, vol. vii. p. 234.

² Michiel had already written on June 22 : " Your Serenity may imagine the regret of these Guise lords, her Majesty's brothers, as also of the most Christian Queen, who loved her mother incredibly and much more than daughters usually love their mothers " (pp. 227, 228). If the premature announcement of Mary's sorrow for a bereavement not yet broken to her was merely a formal Court notice on the part of Michiel, his remark at least shows that the young Queen's great tenderness for her mother was recognised by all around her.

³ The original is in St. Petersburg, and there is a copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale, f. fr., vol. 1234, f. 79. The letter is quoted in full by M. de Ruble, *La Première Jeunesse*, pp. 310, 311. It was written from St. Léger at the end of June.

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patiently what He is pleased to send them. It is true that there is great comfort for those who are left, when they believe that their friends whom He has taken have so lived that the memory of their past life is honoured, and that they cannot miss the enjoyment of that eternal felicity which God promises after death to His chosen ones. That thought helps me to take comfort, and I feel besides that I may reasonably be expected to do the work which death prevented her from completing, a work in which I hope God will help us, as, I think, the justice and righteousness of our cause deserve.”¹

Although the remains of the Queen Regent were not brought to France till the following year, her funeral sermon was preached by Claude Despenca at Notre Dame, Paris, on August 12, 1560.² It was founded on a text from the Apocrypha, “Defuncta est Judith, luxitque illam omnis populus.” (“Judith died, and all the people mourned her.”) The learned, pedantic, yet kind-hearted doctor of the Sorbonne said that the dead Regent was more esteemed in Scotland than was once Isis in Egypt or Ceres in Sicily.

The only other passage worth noting, perhaps, in the long discourse is that in which the preacher referred to the funeral torches and tapers. Torches and tapers, in his view, were typical of the Regent’s

¹ In printing this characteristic letter, M. de Ruble remarked: “It shows the place which the Regent of Scotland held in public esteem at the Court of France. It shows us at the same time the Cardinal of Lorraine under an almost novel aspect, that of the thinker and the Christian.” M. de Ruble, it is clear, had not made any study of the Cardinal’s work as preacher, theologian, and scholar.

² *Oraison Funèbre . . . de Marie par la grâce de Dieu royne douairière d’Ecosse.* The sermon was published in 1561, with a dedication to Mary Queen of Scots. Mary of Lorraine was buried in the Abbey Church of Saint-Pierre at Rheims.

The Funeral Sermon

life, not only because she had lived in the light of great office, and had held high rank as Duchess, Queen, and Regent of Scotland, but also "because we hope she was a daughter of light, and as such walked ever panoplied in the armour of light, in all goodness, righteousness, and truth, as St. Paul tells us to live." He quoted three texts bearing upon his point: the first (Rom. xiii. 12), "Let us put on the armour of light"; the second (1 Thess. v. 5), "Ye are all the children of light, and of the day"; the third (Eph. v. 8), "Now are ye light in the Lord."

The real interest of the sermon lies in the dedication, which was addressed to the bereaved daughter in her widowhood. Claude Despençe, at the time of writing it, must have been in middle life, for we are told¹ that he had been a tutor of the Cardinal of Lorraine, who was thirty-five in the year of the Tumult of Amboise. He knew the young Queen personally, for she had summoned him after the death of her husband.

"Did you not say to me then, mourning over your lot, that God had visited you from your birth?"

In his dedication, thoughts of comfort were suggested to the sorrowing girl:—

"If God is your God, is He not therefore more to you than father or mother, country and husband; does He not take the place of these?"

"If God loves us infinitely better than our relatives, our fathers and mothers, our wives and husbands, why should not you, holding the estate of Queen, believe and comfort yourself with the thought of the King after God's own heart, who was yet so often afflicted: 'My father and my mother'—yes, and

¹ By Pierre de la Place.

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my husband also—'forsook me, but the Lord took me up.'"

Great words from the Prophets were quoted, such as these texts: "Thou art my Father, the Guide of my youth"; "Sion saith, the Lord hath forsaken me. Can a woman forget her child, that she should not have compassion on the son of her womb? Yea, she may forget, yet will not I forget thee."

He gave the Queen that motto, "Endurez pour durer," which reminds us of the maxim of her famous contemporary, Cardinal Granvelle, "Durate"; and he quoted the passage from Psalm xxxiv., "The Lord is nigh unto them that are of a broken heart."

Despence sent along with his sermon a little treatise on widowhood, which, as he said, had long lain hidden among his papers.

On July 6 was signed the Treaty of Edinburgh, which in itself is a proof of the deep humiliation which had fallen upon the Guises. By the agreement between the French and Scots all French troops in Scotland except a hundred and twenty were to be sent home. Francis and Mary were forbidden to order peace or war in Scotland without the consent of the Estates.¹ The Treaty of Edinburgh further provided among other things that Francis and Mary should cease to use the arms of England, that no Frenchman should henceforth hold any important office in Scotland, and that the fortifications of Leith should be demolished. The Treaty, which was a triumphant victory for the Lords of the Congregation, was never ratified by Francis and Mary.

Throckmorton had two interviews with the young

¹ Dr. Hay Fleming, *Mary Queen of Scots*, pp. 30 and 218. Prof. Hume Brown, *History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 71.

The Treaty of Edinburgh

Queen in August at Fontainebleau. The first took place on the 6th of the month, and Catherine de' Medici was present. Throckmorton addressed himself first to Mary, who requested him "in Scottish" to talk first with the Queen Mother. Thus admonished, he delivered to the elder lady Elizabeth's message, expressing a desire that friendly relations should prevail between France and England. Catherine replied that she had always desired such friendship, and would use her influence to continue it. He repeated the instructions to Queen Mary with reference to Scotland, adding, "that however much she might have been persuaded of his mistress's sinister and unkind dealing towards her, she now saw whereunto it tended, and that she had kept her word and not proceeded further for her surety than she had always promised, and that she had means (if she had not meant well) to have possessed herself of what place she would in Scotland." Throckmorton added that he thought Mary would not be so bent to serve the affection of the King as utterly to neglect her country, and suffer it to be suppressed by strangers and under a foreign government. "For her answer hereunto she first thanked the Queen, and said that the duty that she ought to bear to her husband was none otherwise than to have a care for her country, which she could not easily forget."

To the Ambassador's further remark that he trusted she would also consider that the amity of England could not at any time be hurtful to Scotland, Mary answered that she was glad of peace, and hoped that Elizabeth would continue it, as she would do.¹

Her talk was "all in Scottish." The young girl,

¹ *Foreign Calendar*, "Elizabeth," vol. iii. pp. 224, 225.

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instructed, no doubt, by the Cardinal and the Duke, was a match for the clever diplomatist. He saw her again on August 19th.¹ Mary was not accompanied on this occasion by the Queen Mother, but was seated in her own chamber, attended by her ladies. "She was set in a chair under her cloth of state, and would needs have him sit upon a low stool right before her." Throckmorton spoke to the Queen "in English" of the ratification of the Treaty of Edinburgh; whereunto she answered in Scottish, that what the King her husband resolved in that matter, she would conform herself unto; "for his will (quoth she) is mine."

Mary assured Throckmorton that she of all princes had especial cause to value the friendship of Queen Elizabeth, owing to the closeness of their relationship.

Referring pathetically to the death of her mother, Mary said, "While she lived, I was less troubled with the care of that country, and now I must be troubled with the care of it myself." She pleaded with Elizabeth, since personal intercourse was denied them, to join her in the promotion of mutual amity.

Flattery of Elizabeth was not shunned by her rival and immediate heiress. "Indeed (quoth the Queen) they do all greatly praise her, and say that she is both a wise and a very fair lady; and because the one of us cannot see the other, I will send her my picture, though it be not worth the looking on, because you shall promise me that she shall send me hers, for I assure you, if I thought she would not send me hers, she should not have mine."

Throckmorton gave a vague promise on behalf of

¹ *Foreign Calendar*, "Elizabeth," vol. iii. pp. 250-251.

The Meeting at Fontainebleau

his royal mistress, hinting that Mary was as anxious for Elizabeth's portrait "as one that seemeth to be in love with her." The *aplomb* of the French Queen conquered his misgivings. "Madame," he said, as the interview was closing, "assure yourself that as mine evil memory will serve me, I will not forget to advertise the Queen of your whole discourse." "I pray you (quoth she), let me trust to it. . . . I perceive you like me better, M. l'Ambassadeur, when I look sadly than when I look merrily, for it is told me that you desired to have me pictured when I wore the deuil." "No, Madame," replied Throckmorton, "not for that cause only, but specially because your Majesty spoke more graciously and courteously to me in that apparel than you did at any time before whensoever I have had to say with you." ¹

Mary and her husband were present at the meeting of the Notables at Fontainebleau in August 1560;² and the earnest words of Coligny, Montluc, and Marillac must have impressed the girl Queen, as they appealed to every listener. At one o'clock on August 21 the distinguished company gathered in

¹ It is difficult to find in the contemporary narratives of this summer any trace of the gayer and lighter aspects of Mary's life. Amid the correspondence of French diplomatists with Spain, there is one passage, however, which affords a pleasant diversion. It occurs in a letter of Florimond Robertet, Secretary of State, who wrote to the Bishop of Limoges that he had promised the young Queen a pair of blue silk and a pair of red silk stockings, and asked the Ambassador to have them manufactured "out of those fine silks which come from Granada." The former pair were to be of a deep turquoise blue, and "rather long." Queen Mary, at the age of eighteen, was thus, like Queen Elizabeth, supplied with the luxuries of dress. *Négociations sous François II.*, p. 446.

² Pierre de la Place, *Commentaires de l'Estat de la Religion et République*, p. 53.

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the Queen Mother's state apartment. Francis II. made a short speech, promising full reports from his Chancellor, Michel de l'Hôpital, and from his uncles, the Duke and the Cardinal, and asking that free and dispassionate advice should be given to him.

It is a significant proof of her growing influence that Catherine de' Medici spoke immediately after the King. She asked the Counsellors of the throne to suggest means whereby her son's crown might be preserved, his subjects pacified, and the malcontents satisfied if this were possible.

This single sentence of a moderately-minded contemporary historian, Pierre de la Place, opens door after door in the Palace of Fontainebleau, and reveals the swiftly changing deliberations in the innermost chamber of politics. The Guises, it is evident, were virtually dethroned. France had forgotten their services, and was looking beyond them to a national government. Scotland had driven out her foreigners—the Frenchmen; France, inspired by the same spirit of patriotism, sought to rid herself of the Lorrainers. The Reformation in Scotland was facilitated because it was known that the relatives of the Queen Regent were not the true representatives of the people of France, and we cannot doubt that the Lords of the Congregation, in May and June 1560, had been perfectly instructed as to the declining fortunes of the Duke and the Cardinal.

The speakers on the first day at Fontainebleau were the Chancellor, whose long introductory address must have been depressing to the Assembly; the Duke of Guise, who gave in his report on military affairs; and the Cardinal of Lorraine, who confessed

Coligny's Speech

that the expenditure of the kingdom was far in excess of the revenue.¹

On August 23 the sittings were resumed, and as the Notables were waiting for the speech of the Bishop of Valence, the Admiral of France, Gaspard de Coligny, rose from his seat and approached the King. He bowed deeply twice, and presented two petitions, which the Secretary, Claude de l'Aubespine, was ordered to read. They were appeals from the French Protestants,—who, after the Tumult of Amboise, had become known as Huguenots,—asking his Majesty to allow them freedom of worship. Biographers of Coligny have recognised the superb courage which led him, at this crisis, to become the spokesman of the persecuted members of the Protestant communion in France. It was within the power of Francis and his Ministers to order his instant arrest, as Henry II. had ordered the arrest of Anne du Bourg. The men who consigned a prince of the blood, three months later, to a felon's cell at Orleans, were not likely to be deterred by considerations of birth and lofty alliances. The Guises were at this time like royal eagles fighting from the highest munitions of rocks. Coligny recognised the danger he had so narrowly escaped when he said, on hearing of the death of Francis II., "The King is dead ; that teaches us to live."²

He must have known, as he bowed to the King and Queen, that before many hours had passed he

¹ "Le Cardinal de Lorraine aussi, touchant les affaires d'estat et les finances, donnant à entendre que les charges ordinaires du royaume surmontoient le revenu de deux millions cinq cens mille livres." Pierre de la Place, p. 54.

² It should be remembered, no doubt, that Coligny was protected by the eight hundred armed men whom his uncle, the Constable, had brought to Fontainebleau.

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might be consigned to those dark dungeons of Paris from which Anne du Bourg had been led to the scaffold. Even the kinsmanship of the Constable and his brave sons might prove an unavailing shelter, for this was a war of princes ; and none knew better than Coligny how the Guises would turn contemptuously from meaner antagonists, and strike the shield of the foremost champion until it rang again.

The Admiral's petition was courteously received. The contemporary narratives leave us hardly in doubt that he acted under the inspiration of Catherine de' Medici, to whom one of the two petitions was addressed. The signatories entreated Catherine to show herself a second Esther, and to take pity on the Lord's people. In bold language they appealed to her to establish Christ's true service in the land, and to drive out all errors and malpractices which hindered His rule. Calvinism, says Professor Marcks, approached the throne with a claim which recognised neither barriers nor disguise. "It pleads not for tolerance, it demands the destruction of idol-worship. Oppressed and persecuted, pleading and insisting on its loyal obedience, it is as absolute as ever in its personal strivings." ¹

Coligny's speech was followed by that of Jean de Montluc, Bishop of Valence, one of the most gifted prelates of the age. His work as a diplomatist is known to every student of the period. His reputation as a Court preacher was second only to that of the Cardinal of Lorraine. His life-history and that of his brother, the great and cruel Captain, Blaise de Montluc, afford a singular contrast to that of the brothers Francis and Charles of Guise. It was the

¹ *Gaspard von Coligny*, p. 400.

Jean de Montluc

soldier, not the Churchman, in the Montluc records, who acquired an unenviable reputation for harshness. We read with horror that narrative, callously reported by Blaise de Montluc, of his "mercy" to a young lad of eighteen whose life he spared during an execution of Huguenots. He caused the boy to be flogged so cruelly that he died a few days afterwards. This iron-hearted General was a faithful servant of the Lorrainers; full of tenderness for the sons of Guise and Aumale, the "little princes" whom he introduced to the army.

Incidents of the private life of Jean de Montluc are unfolded in curious detail in the *Memoirs* of Sir James Melville. The adventures in the house of Odocarte, on the coast of Ireland, on Fastern's E'en, 1549, are little to the credit of the diplomatist. As he sat over the herrings and biscuits in the great dark tower of Odocarte, the French Bishop cast admiring glances at the Chief's daughter, and she was obliged to "avoid his attention." A strange picture is drawn by Melville of the Bishop's coffers lying wet by the sea-walls, and of the servant of Odocarte finding on his bedroom table a little glass in a case, standing by the window, with a sweet odour which tempted her to eat the contents. It was a phial of precious balm that grew in Egypt, and had been given to the Bishop by Solomon the Great during his residence as ambassador in Turkey.

Loose in morals as he may have been, Jean de Montluc was a statesman of the widest experience, and we see from his treatment of young Melville that his heart was kind.¹

¹ Pierre de la Place, the principal authority on the meeting at Fontainebleau, describes the Bishop as "personnage de grand sçavoir et littérature, mesmes és lettres saintes d'en dire son opinion."

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He paid a noble tribute to the learning and worthiness of the Huguenot ministers, "who were willing to lose their lives as a seal to their profession." "They have ever on their lips the name of Jesus Christ, a name so sweet that it might open the deafest ears, and flow gently into the most hardened hearts. Having found the people unguided by pastor, shepherd, or any one who would take pains to teach them, they were willingly received and gladly heard; so that we need not be surprised if many people have embraced this doctrine, learning it from so many preachers and from so many books which have been published in rapid succession." He attacked the Bishops, the Cardinals, the Judges, the Popes themselves. It was a daring act of Coligny to present the two petitions; it was hardly less daring of Jean de Montluc to utter this bold harangue in the presence of the arch-persecutors.

Towards the close of his speech he addressed himself pointedly to the elder and younger Queens. He had recently returned from Edinburgh, and he probably understood better than any one present the dangers which beset Queen Mary's reign. He begged the Queens to discontinue the singing of foolish songs in the palace, and to order their ladies-in-waiting and all their suite to sing the Psalms of David and spiritual hymns. "Remember that the eye of God passes over all the places and people of this world, and rests there only where His name is mentioned, praised, and exalted." He argued at length that the Psalms should be sung in the vernacular.

Montluc recommended the holding of a General Council, and warned the Pope that the King of France, in the event of a refusal, would summon a

Address of Archbishop Marillac

national Council, like his predecessors Charlemagne and Louis.

It is evident from the tone of the Bishop's address that the cruel sufferings inflicted on the martyrs of the new religion had weighed heavily on his conscience.

Hardly less striking in its moderation was the speech of Charles de Marillac, Archbishop of Vienne, who, like Montluc, was not in priest's orders. Marillac was a man of pure character and enlightened understanding. The coming tragedy of civil war was perhaps revealed to him in a vision before death; and his speech at Fontainebleau acquires new meaning when we remember that he died two months later, worn out by anxieties. He recommended the summoning of a national Council, and reprimanded with the utmost severity the clergy who were making profit out of spiritual things.¹ Like Montluc, he spoke contemptuously of the Pope. "Whatever happens, France cannot afford to perish in order to please him."

On August 24 the speakers were Coligny and the Guise brothers. The Admiral supported the proposal made by Marillac for the summoning of the States General. The Duke of Guise spoke with unwonted bitterness, feeling himself incriminated. He took up Coligny's announcement that he could bring fifty thousand signatures to the petitions. "The King," cried Francis of Guise, "will set a million against your fifty thousand."

The Cardinal spoke very quietly. He opposed

¹ Marillac said, "*Ceste sentence de Jésus-Christ est éternelle : Gratis accepistis, gratis date. Les choses spirituelles se baillent de Dieu gratuitement ; il ne nous est doncques licite en faire marchandise*" (Pierre de la Place, p. 61).

The Summer of 1560

for the moment the summoning of a national Council, but approved the convocation of the States General. As regards the plea for toleration, he declined to yield. "To allow them temples and meeting-places would be to approve their idolatry ; which the King could not do save at the cost of his soul's eternal damnation."¹

The Cardinal recommended, however, that no further severities should be used against peaceful subjects who had gone without arms to the preaching, and neglected the Mass. "I am grieved," he said, "that so many rigorous executions have taken place, and if my life or death could be of any service to these poor erring ones, I would expose myself boldly and freely." He advised the Bishops and other learned persons to labour to win the heretics over and correct them according to the Gospel precept : "Corripe fratrem tuum inter te et ipsum."

Comparing this speech with the letter to the Bishop of Angoulême after the martyrdom of Anne du Bourg, we understand that the proud prelate was for the moment humbled and defeated. The influence of his talents and character was revealed, however, when the votes were taken on August 25. The Knights of the Order, without exception, agreed

¹ Pierre de la Place, p. 67. The King's letter to the Bishop of Limoges of July 28 should be compared with the Cardinal's speech at Fontainebleau. In the letter Francis is made to plead almost with passion for the summoning of a general Council, to which the Protestants of Germany should be invited. On the same day the Cardinal wrote to the Bishop, complaining of the Pope's inaction, and entreating Sébastien de l'Aubespine not to let a single chance slip of pressing forward, appealing for and advancing with all his might, at the Court of Spain, the holding of this Council, "which we consider the one and only remedy for all our troubles" (*Négociations sous François II.*, pp. 442, 443).

Opening of a New Era

with the opinion of the Cardinal of Lorraine. A meeting of the States General was fixed for December 10 at Meaux.¹ The French clergy were summoned for an assembly on January 20. The Cardinal desired to hear their views for or against a national Council.

Possibly the speeches of Montluc and Marillac may have seemed to the young French Queen insufferably long and tedious, but she can hardly have viewed with indifference the Admiral's bold action, or heard without emotion the demand he made for the assembly of the States General, the dismissal of the new guard which surrounded her husband, and the granting of "temples" to the Protestants. Every member of the royal circle must have realised, more or less clearly, that a new era was opening.

If the ancient oaks of Fontainebleau had been gifted, like that of Dodona, with oracular powers, mysterious sighings must surely have been heard from them on these August nights. The two most important men in France, Coligny and the Duke of Guise—each endowed with high qualities of mind and character, each naturally brave, generous and religious, each by the confession of friend and foe well fitted to serve the fatherland—had not only abandoned the friendship of their youth, but were opposed to each other in the sharpest personal and political antagonism.

The Huguenots were now a numerous, if ill-compacted party, bold and clamorous, drawing their strength not only from the commercial and professional classes, but from important sections of the nobility. The epoch of the civil wars was close at hand, bringing untold miseries to Catholics and

¹ The place was afterwards changed to Orleans.

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Protestants alike. Scarcely in that generation, for any descendant of Philippa of Lorraine or Louise of Montmorency, were the dying words of the Admiral's mother to be fulfilled: "His mercy is on them that fear Him throughout all generations."

CHAPTER XVII

CLOSING MONTHS OF THE REIGN OF FRANCIS II

Removal of the Court to Saint-Germain—The plot revealed by La Sague—Contradictory orders of the Government—The King and Queen at Orleans—Discontent of the inhabitants—Beauty of the young Queen—Arrival of Navarre and Condé—Arrest and imprisonment of Condé—First rumours of the King's illness—The Venetian Ambassador describes it—An early close of the reign expected—Rising hopes of the Huguenots—Talk of a second marriage for Mary—Last days of Francis II.—His death on December 5—The sorrowing Queen.

FROM Fontainebleau the Court removed, by way of Melun and Villeneuve-Saint-Georges, to Saint-Germain, where a month's stay was made. Before the King's departure, an event occurred which proved the hollowness of the partial reconciliation. A confidential messenger of the King of Navarre, named La Sague, was captured with compromising papers upon him. Navarre and Condé had kept away from the meeting of the Notables, knowing that they were in bad odour with the Government, and perhaps fearing some act of violence. The most incriminating document found on La Sague was a letter in which that great noble, the Vidame de Chartres, intimated to the Prince of Condé that he was ready to follow him. Under torture La Sague revealed the existence of a plot, giving details which were probably much exaggerated. Condé and his brother were to advance at the head of a strong force into the heart of the

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kingdom, and were to occupy Poitiers, Tours, and Orleans, while the Constable and other leaders were to conduct similar movements in the more distant provinces. An assembly of the rebels was to be held at Orleans. The Vidame de Chartres was thrown into prison, and the Bourbon brothers were ordered to appear at the Court. It suited the policy of the Guises to make the most of La Sague's revelations. They had failed to implicate Condé in the Tumult of Amboise, but here was another plot hatching, on a much vaster scale, of which he was again the "Silent Captain." It is probable that before they quitted Fontainebleau the Duke and the Cardinal had resolved that Condé must perish.¹

The diplomatic correspondence and the official letters drawn up by the Ministers of Francis II. in the last three months of his reign prove that fear was lord of their actions. As the habit of fear weakens intellectual capacity, we note without surprise the self-contradictory tone of documents which must have been prepared, at short intervals, under their personal supervision. It is sufficient for our purpose to glance at two letters which belong to the period immediately following the meeting at Fontainebleau. One is the letter to the Bishops of France on the question of a national Council.²

Every sentence, we may fairly assume, was personally sanctioned, if not actually composed, by the Cardinal of Lorraine. The admission of the need of drastic reforms within the Church is like

¹ Professor Marcks, commenting on La Sague's evidence, says: "There seems to be no doubt that King Antoine did for some time project a warlike enterprise on an extensive scale" (*Gaspard von Coligny*, p. 407).

² *Négociations sous François II.*, pp. 594-97.

Renewal of Persecution

an echo from his speeches and private letters. The Bishops were invited to be in Paris in time for the clerical assembly of January 20th (1561), and their duty for the intervening months is laid down. "Meanwhile you will be careful to see that there is nothing going on in your diocese which may grow worse through your neglect. You must use your ecclesiastical authority, and with such moderation towards those who are suspected or accused of heresy, that the wanderers from the right way shall be brought back rather by your gentle and kindly admonitions, than by the severity and strictness of the judgments which you might execute against them. You will thus be following the example of the Good Shepherd in the Gospel, who leaves the ninety and nine sheep under his care, to seek the hundredth which has gone astray. Far from killing that sheep or hurting it in any way, he lays it on his shoulder and carries it gently back to the flock." ¹

Compare this circular to the Bishops with the letter sent by the King, on October 1, from Saint-Germain, to the Marshal de Termes.² Francis reminded the Marshal, who was then at Poitiers, that pacificatory measures had been taken at Fontainebleau, but that "those of the new religion" had since been going on worse than ever. They were accustomed to meet privately, but now in many places they were assembling publicly under arms; "with such contempt for the honour of God and despising of my

¹ M. Louis Paris, editor of the *Négociations sous François II.*, remarked with but too much truth in a note on this passage: "Here we have maxims of an Evangelical gentleness which are in striking contrast with the pitiless measures taken, a few months later, against the Huguenots of the South."

² *Négociations sous François II.*, pp. 580-82.

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authority and power that I do not feel I can tolerate it."

M. de Termes was instructed, if he possibly could, to "catch these preachers, and to punish them soundly." He was also to watch the conduct of officials and find out who were favouring "that sort of people," so as to deprive them of office or inflict on them "some other deserved chastisement." The King added: "I pray you, my cousin, to take pains, now that you have this opportunity, to rid the country so thoroughly of an infinite number of rascals—mere troublers of society—that I shall not have any bother with them hereafter. You will thus render me, I assure you, so great a service that I shall never forget it."

The truth is that the Guises never meant to allow freedom of worship, either in France or Scotland. They were willing at the best to grant an amnesty for past faults to those who would consent to live henceforth as loyal subjects in the Catholic faith. In a letter of September 3, to the Bishop of Rennes, French Ambassador at the Emperor's Court, Francis II. denied that freedom of worship had been granted to the Scots under the Treaty of Edinburgh by their Queen and himself.¹

The task of raising troops was pushed rapidly forward at Saint-Germain. Writing from Melun on September 3, Throckmorton said that although France was still in some disorder, he expected an early restoration of tranquillity, because the Guises were diligent in consultation and provision.²

Orleans was full of secret disaffection, and the

¹ *Négociations sous François II.*, p. 504.

² *Forcign Calendar*, "Elizabeth," vol. iii. p. 274.

Francis and Mary at Orleans

Ministers decided that the King should go there with a bodyguard of veteran troops from Picardy and the Italian frontiers. On October 10, the Court left Saint-Germain and proceeded southwards by way of Paris, with a large escort of cavalry and over a thousand trusty foot-soldiers. The streets of Orleans were gaily decorated, and liveries had been provided in the colours of the King and Queen. On October 18, the King made his entry, riding under a canopy of cloth of gold, adorned with the arms of the city. With him rode his brothers, Charles and Henry, the Prince of La Roche-sur-Yon, several Knights of the Order, the four hundred archers of the Guard, two hundred gentlemen of the household, and the musketeers of the new guard. Triumphal arches had been erected in the principal streets, and cries were raised of "Vive le Roy," while in the distance guns were fired.¹

An accident very nearly happened: the King's horse slipped; it was raised in time, but the people saw in this a bad omen for his Majesty and for the town.

Francis proceeded to the Cathedral, where an address of welcome was pronounced by the Bishop of Orleans, Jean de Morvilliers. The royal guest was lodged in the splendid house of the late Jacques Groslot, Chancellor of Alençon, on the Place de l'Étape. The son of the Chancellor, the celebrated Jérôme Groslot, who has been called the Jacques Cœur of Orleans, was at this time Provost of the city, but in deep disgrace owing to his Huguenot sympathies.

¹ Bernard de Lacombe, *Cathérine de Médicis entre Guise et Condé*, p. 65.

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In the afternoon, with full regal honours, Mary Stuart, mounted on a white horse, entered Orleans, accompanied by the Princesses and Duchesses of the Court. An old Orleans historian, François Le Maire,¹ describes the young Queen as so marvellously beautiful that "if the silvery moon had appeared shining in the midst of her stars, her lustre would have been dimmed beside such rare perfections and such dazzling loveliness." That was to be the last bright pageant of Mary's married life in France, and as compared with many a gay state entry in which she had shone as Queen of Beauty, the reception at Orleans was full of menace. The boy King had been seen to dart at Grosloot such a look of anger as he approached to offer the civic welcome, that the Provost trembled and could not pronounce a word. Though the town was like an armed camp full of men devoted to their service, the Guises did not appear either in the procession of the King or Queen. Some said that their minds were again haunted by the warnings of astrologers, and that they feared that an assassin might be waiting for them in the crowd. The inhabitants of Orleans had been forbidden to carry pistols or daggers, though an exception was made in the case of the German students, an important "nation" of the University, who demanded their ancient privilege. "Fear," wrote the Florentine Ambassador, "is everywhere in this kingdom,"² and the terror reached its height at Orleans. The prisons were strengthened with new bars and gratings, "to hold the chief men of the city." Strong guards were placed at the

¹ Quoted by M. de Lacombe, *Cathérine de Médicis*, p. 66.

² "La paura è universale in questo regno" (Dispatch of Niccolò Tornabuoni of November 1560).

Arrest of the Prince of Condé

gates; it was rumoured that two thousand German troops would shortly reinforce the French veterans.

On October 30, obeying the royal summons, the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé arrived. Surian, who had replaced Michiel as Venetian Ambassador, arrived at the same time as the Princes, and described their unfriendly reception by his Majesty in the room of the Queen Mother. Although Antoine approached the King with many humble bows, almost kneeling, Francis treated him with great coldness, motioning him to bow first to Catherine. He did not move a step to meet this near blood-relative, and scarcely raised his bonnet. The Prince of Condé, presented by his brother, was treated with the same disdain. Neither Navarre nor Condé exchanged greetings with the Cardinal or the Duke of Guise, who were standing at a window behind the Queen Mother. Condé's arrest followed on the same day. He was committed to four Captains of the Guard to be taken to prison, was led away by a secret passage and kept in strict confinement. It seems to us amazing that the Princes should have thus deliberately placed themselves in the power of their deadly foes. Navarre and the Cardinal of Bourbon knelt in vain at the feet of Francis, imploring that they might have the custody of their brother.¹

On all Saints' Day Antoine de Bourbon remained shut up in his house, because of the grief he felt at the arrest. He had only too good reason to fear for

¹ Surian's letters from Orleans may be studied in the original in the volume published in 1891 by the Huguenot Society, under the editorship of Sir Henry Layard. See also the *Venetian Calendar*, vol. vii.

Last Months of Francis II.

his own liberty and life. Ambassadors reported that he was treated like a prisoner.¹

Amid the pressure of other affairs at Orleans, Francis and Mary continued to refuse the ratification of the Treaty of Edinburgh. "My subjects in Scotland do their duty in nothing," Mary said to Throckmorton, "nor have they performed their part in one thing that belongeth to them. I am their Queen and so they call me, but they use me not so. . . . They must be taught to know their duties."²

Renée of Ferrara, mother of the Duchess of Guise, entered Orleans on November 7, and was received with almost regal honours. The King went out of the city to welcome her, and rooms were assigned for her use in the Hôtel Grosloir. The daughter of Louis XII. learned with indignation of the arrest of the Prince of Condé, and is said to have reproved the Duke of Guise for his presumption in attacking the princes of the blood royal, threatening him with misfortune to his own family. "But she had to swallow that pill," says Regnier de la Planche.³

The first whispers of the King's ill-health began to circulate in the third week of November. On

¹ "The King of Navarre," says Niccolo Tornabuoni, "has been ordered not to go far from the Court, and is always followed by some one" (*Négociations de la France avec la Toscane*, vol. iii. p. 425).

² *Foreign Calendar*, "Elizabeth," vol. iii. p. 394.

³ M. Bernard de Lacombe considers that the advisers of the King were hesitating at this moment between a policy of toleration and severity. As he points out, the vacillation of the Ministers is revealed, not only in the stately reception given to a well-known supporter of the new doctrines such as Renée of Ferrara, but also in the fact that even after the King's entry, Protestant services were held in Orleans. It was not till November 14 that the Reformed Church in Orleans was dissolved. Ministers and elders were then obliged to quit the town and take refuge in the neighbouring villages (*Catherine de Médicis entre Guise et Condé*, p. 76).

Illness of the King

the 20th, Surian wrote that their Majesties had decided to go on the previous Monday to Chambord and Chenonceaux on a hunting expedition and to remain there till the end of the month. But on the Sunday Francis had been seized with a severe shivering fit and fever.¹ It was said that this illness to which his Majesty was subject was a kind of catarrhal flux, which he had inherited from his father and grandfather. It had shown itself by a running from the right ear, which, when checked, led to severe pains in the teeth and jaws, and to a swelling behind the ear as large as a big nut, which became smaller or larger as the matter increased or diminished. Surian added that the patient's condition was improving, but that he was still not free from fever and confined to bed. The cause of the illness was believed to be the sudden change of weather, which from a spring-like mildness had changed to severe cold. "His Majesty had not taken proper care of himself, and was now obliged to remain in bed, to his great annoyance, as his mother desired it. For this reason it was said by many persons that his illness was very serious, and that those who treated it as of little consequence had an interest in doing so." ²

In the same letter the Venetian envoy foreshadowed an early close of the reign. Astrologers had predicted that Francis would not live more than eighteen years, and an illness of so unusual a character showed radical defects in his constitution. Already it was whispered at Orleans that his death would involve

¹ He had been overcome by faintness in the Church of the Jacobins on this day after Vesper service.

² These quotations from Surian's dispatches are taken from vol. vi. of the Publications of the Huguenot Society of London, edited by Sir Henry Layard.

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the overthrow of the Guises and a complete revolution in religion. The new King, as a minor, would be placed under the probable tutelage of the King of Navarre, as the eldest of the family and the first prince of the blood. Navarre, to humour the populace, who were "for the most part infected with this plague," would open the way to licence and disorder, which would lead, not only to the ruin of France, but of all Christendom.

Such was the prognostication of a Catholic diplomatist, and on the Huguenot side the most sinister reports were current. Condé was condemned to death on November 26, and his execution was fixed for December 10, the date of the opening of the States General.

According to Regnier de la Planche, a massacre like that of St. Bartholomew was preparing at Orleans, and although many statements in the sombre closing pages of his narrative are unconfirmed by contemporary evidence, there can be no doubt that the last month of the reign was one of the gloomiest in the annals of the century. It was believed that the Guises would not quit Orleans till they had annihilated their enemies, and forced from each member of the States General a profession of the Catholic faith. The mortal illness of the King must have appeared to thousands of his most loyal subjects a direct interposition of God.

The course of the King's illness can be traced from day to day in the dispatches of ambassadors. Throckmorton wrote on November 28: "The constitution of his body is such as the physicians do say he cannot be long-lived, and thereunto he hath by his too timely and inordinate exercise now in his youth

His Closing Hours

added an evil accident. Some say that if he recover this sickness he cannot live two years. Therefore there is talk of the French Queen's second marriage. Some say the Prince of Spain, some the Duke of Austria, others the Earl of Arran." ¹

In the last week of November the King was growing feebler, and hope of his recovery was practically abandoned. "Great lamentation is made at the Court," wrote our Ambassador on the 29th, "for they mistrust the King will not recover."

On December 1 the reports were conflicting. Surian wrote: "Last night, which was the 14th [from the commencement of the illness], his Majesty had no rest both from very violent pain in the head, and sickness, and from fever, so he is in a bad way, and is in some danger. Although they endeavour to conceal the malady more than ever, the Queen Mother cannot suppress the signs of her sorrow, which is increased by the recollection of the predictions made by many astrologers, who all prognosticated his very short life. Contrary to custom, the gates of the Court have also been closed during the whole of this day; no one entered his Majesty's chamber except the Queens and the three Guises, and no one is allowed access to the ante-chamber, which used to be crowded." ²

Again, on December 2, the Venetian reported that the patient was dying. "I have now to tell you that *laborat in extremis*, and he can live but for a few hours." ³

Throckmorton was less well informed than Surian, for on December 1 he mentioned that there had been

¹ *Foreign Calendar*, "Elizabeth," vol. iii. p. 410.

² *Venetian Calendar*, vol. vii. pp. 274-75.

³ *Ibid.* p. 275.

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some improvement, adding, "Now the physicians mistrust no danger of his life."¹

Niccolo Tornabuoni wrote on December 3 to Florence: "The King's health is still uncertain. There are processions to the Churches of Orleans, in which the Queen Mother, the wife and brothers of the King, take part."²

Chantonay reported on the same day that the Queen Mother and the Guises never spoke now of the King except with tears in their eyes.

While Catherine de' Medici was planning in secret with the King of Navarre and securing her own position for the future, Mary Stuart was a patient watcher by the sick-bed of her young husband. The shadow of death hung deeper over Orleans than the shadows of the dying year. The city contained the leaders of two fierce factions, each ready to fly at the other's throat, each professing the most absolute devotion to the throne. The story was told that Francis had vowed to the Saints, and especially to Notre-Dame-de-Cléry, that if life were granted him he would zealously continue the persecution of the heretics.³

It was also rumoured that the Cardinal of Lorraine had taught the dying boy to pray: "Lord, pardon my sins, and impute not to me those which my Ministers have committed in my name and by my authority."⁴

About ten o'clock on the evening of December 5, the King passed away.⁵

¹ *Foreign Calendar*, "Elizabeth," vol. iii. p. 417.

² *Négociations de la France avec la Toscane*, vol. iii. p. 427.

³ R. de la Planche.

⁴ Pierre de la Place, p. 76.

⁵ For the details of his illness, see Dr. Potiquet's well-known work, *La Maladie et la Mort de François II.*

Queen Mary's Sorrow

Calvin wrote, in a characteristic letter to Sturm : ¹
“ Did you ever read or hear of anything more timely than the death of the little King ? There was no remedy for the worst evils when God suddenly revealed Himself from heaven, and He who had pierced the father's eye struck the ear of the son.”

The English Ambassador wrote that Francis had left “ as heavy and dolorous a wife as of right she had good cause to be, who, by long watching with him during his sickness, and painful diligence about him, and specially by the issue thereof, is not in the best tune of her body, but without danger.” ²

¹ *Calvini Opera*, vol. xviii. p. 270.

² *Foreign Calendar*, “ Elizabeth,” vol. iii. p. 421.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE YOUNG WIDOW

Loneliness of the widowed Queen—Fall of the Guises—Restoration of the Crown jewels—Queen Mary's dowry—Funeral of Francis II.—Meeting of the States General at Orleans—The forty days of mourning—Throckmorton's praise of Mary's wisdom—Arrival of Don Juan Manrique de Lara from Philip II.—Requiem for Francis II. on January 15, 1561, which Mary attends—The Court leaves Orleans for Fontainebleau—The Earl of Bedford brings condolences from Queen Elizabeth—Mary refuses to ratify the Treaty of Edinburgh.

HISTORIANS have dwelt on the solitary position of Queen Mary after the blow that struck her at Orleans. She had lost within a few months her mother and her husband. The brilliant uncle on whose guidance she had leant from infancy, the Churchman whom Bossuet describes as "a great genius and a great statesman," had in some fashion, which to her was perhaps inexplicable, won the hatred of Catholics as well as Protestants. Even the military renown of the Duke of Guise did not save him from discredit. The affairs of Scotland caused the Queen deep anxiety. Catherine de' Medici regarded her as a dangerous enemy. The despised Antoine de Bourbon was now able to dictate to the men who would have murdered his brother.

"No sooner had Francis breathed his last," writes De Thou, "than all the courtiers hurried in a crowd to congratulate Charles his brother, and the new



Mary Stuart

A. Graudon photo.

Emory Walker Photo

Mary Stuart in Widow's Dress
From a drawing by François Clouet
in the Bibliothèque Nationale Paris

Fall of the Guises

King was received with acclamations when he showed himself in public. Then the Guises, mingling with the other nobles, were seen to forget their past greatness in order to link themselves with the present reign."

The Guises must long have foreseen the possible ending of their authority through the death of the invalid Francis, yet while breath remained in his feeble body, while he could still mount a horse and appear at public worship, they put the black thoughts from them; and we can believe the statement of contemporary writers, that the Duke of Guise, who had himself been brought back from the grave by the skill of Paré, swore at the Court physicians and threatened to hang them, because they could not prolong the fading life until the Lorrainers had swept the Bourbons from their path.

It has been suggested that the Duke, whose armed bands filled Orleans, might, by the aid of his loyal veterans, have established his authority at the moment of the King's death.¹ If such a dream had crossed his mind, his defeat was prepared in advance by Catherine. She had summoned the Constable to her side, although she had helped, seventeen months earlier, to send him into exile. The veteran statesman, attended by eight hundred gentlemen, left Chantilly and travelled by slow stages towards Orleans. He received at Étampes the news of his young master's death, and hastened instantly southwards. Finding Orleans defended by troops under the orders of the Duke of Guise, he disbanded them, and assumed the chief military command. Melville writes joy-

¹ Forneron, *Les Ducs de Guise*, vol. i. p. 283. René de Bouillé, vol. ii. p. 115.

The Young Widow

ously that his old master "lap on horsbak and cam fraely to the court and commandit, lyk a Constable, the men of wair that gardit the croun be the Duc of Guise commandement to pak them aff the toun." ¹

Condé's life was saved, for the King of Navarre was now the first governor of the realm after Catherine. The Cardinal of Lorraine gave up, on December 6, the seal of Francis II., which was broken in presence of Charles IX. and Catherine.² The Crown jewels were handed over by the newly-widowed Queen, and were taken possession of by the Regent on behalf of her son.³

Later in the month (December 20) Charles IX. confirmed the provision of Mary's marriage contract by which her dowry was fixed at 60,000 livres tournois, to be taken from the revenues of Touraine and Poitou.

The decline of Guise influence at the accession of Charles IX. is reflected in the diplomatic correspondence. On December 6, while the breaking of seals and the handing over of caskets occupied the thoughts of the mourners, Surian informed the Signory of Venice that although the Duke of Guise was popular in the kingdom, especially with the nobles, the Cardinal of Lorraine was so hated by all that, if the people had their will, he would probably not remain alive. It was rumoured even at this early date that he had sent his most valuable property into Lorraine for security, and that he was about to retire from

¹ *Memoirs*, p. 86.

² *Négociations sous François II.*, p. 733.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 738-740. The royal receipt for the jewels is dated December 6, so that no time was lost in recovering them. See note at end of this chapter.

Funeral of Francis II.

Court. He remained at Orleans, however, for the opening of the States General, at which he suffered the mortification of being excluded from the position he had hoped to adorn, that of spokesman for the Three Estates. For the first time since she came to France, Mary Stuart saw her uncles in actual disgrace. They acted, it must be admitted, with personal dignity, making no attempt to escape from a city where their enemies now ruled.

The funeral of Francis II. was celebrated with little pomp. His heart, enclosed in a leaden vase, was borne under a canopy to the Cathedral.¹ The vase was carried by Charles de Bourbon, Prince of La Roche-sur-Yon, who was destined, within a few weeks, to suffer an overwhelming loss by the death, through an accident in riding, of his only son, a promising lad of twelve. The Marshals Brissac, Saint-André, and Montmorency were supporters of the canopy, and the memorial service was attended by the King of Navarre, the Guises, the Constable, the Cardinals, and the gentlemen of the Court.

The late King's body was removed by night, and with scant attendance, to Saint-Denis. Pierre de la Place tells that a slip of paper had been found attached to the velvet pall which covered his coffin, with the words inscribed on it, "Where is Messire Tanneguy du Chastel? *But he was a Frenchman.*" The allusion was to the Chamberlain of Charles VII., who, on seeing his master's body abandoned by the courtiers, gave it a stately burial at his own expense. The comparison was intended to wound the half-foreign princes of Lorraine, who having furthered their own ends through

¹ The Cathedral of Sainte-Croix at Orleans was destroyed by the Huguenots in 1567.

The Young Widow

the late King, had, as the people believed, forsaken his dead body as they forsook his father's.¹

On December 13, the States General met at Orleans. In the long list of royal personages and nobles who attended, we recognise the names of many who had listened to Coligny, Montluc, and Marillac at Fontainebleau in August, but the name of Mary Stuart is absent, for she was passing through the forty days of her mourning. The letters of ambassadors echo something of the pity which must have been expressed for the royal girl by the strangers who gathered in the city, as they glanced at her darkened windows:—

“So by degrees everyone will forget the death of the late King,” wrote Surian, “except the young Queen, his widow, who being no less noble minded than beautiful and graceful in appearance, the thoughts of widowhood at so early an age, and of the loss of a consort who was so great a King and who so dearly loved her, and also that she is dispossessed of the crown of France, with little hope of recovering that of Scotland, which is her sole patrimony and dower, so afflict her that she will not receive any consolation, but, brooding over her disasters with constant tears and passionate and doleful lamentations, she universally inspires great pity.”²

In her mourning chamber, wearing the widow's white robes, Mary remained “as if buried in a sepulchre.” She was not too deeply buried, however, for reports of her gracious and gentle behaviour under her altered fortunes to reach the outer world. Throck-

¹ Pierre de la Place, *De l'Estat de la Religion et République*, p. 76. The Huguenot historian does not mention the solemn ceremony of the interment of the King's heart at Orleans.

² *Venetian Calendar*, vol. vii. p. 278.

Mary's "Wisdom"

morton, who by December 31 had not yet been admitted to an audience, wrote of her conduct in terms of glowing eulogy. Possibly our Ambassador's panegyric derived something of its force from his disappointment with his own mistress, who, as rumour insisted, was to marry Lord Robert Dudley. Cecil was obliged to warn the too officious diplomatist against intermeddling with the private affairs of Elizabeth.

On December 9, Throckmorton had announced that the eighteen-year-old widow would be sent in the spring to her own country, convoyed by French galleys. "She is now called La Royne Marye."

He warned the Lords of the Council (December 31) that they would have to concern themselves with her marriage:—

"During her husband's life there was no great account made of her, for that, being under band of marriage and subjection of her husband (who carried the burden and care of all her matters), there was offered no great occasion to know what was in her. But since her husband's death, she hath showed (and so continueth) that she is both of great wisdom for her years, modesty, and also of great judgment in the wise handling herself and her matters, which, increasing with her years, cannot but turn greatly to her commendation, reputation, honour, and great benefit of her and her country.¹

Reading between the lines, and noting the insistence on the word "wisdom," the Lords must have smiled at the audacity with which the clever and independent Throckmorton praised a rival Queen in such terms as to glance reprovingly at his own

¹ *Foreign Calendar*, "Elizabeth," vol. iii. p. 472.

The Young Widow

Sovereign, who, though by nine years Mary's senior, was, in his view, making herself the laughing-stock of Europe by her passion for Dudley.

He continued :—

“ Already it appears that some such as made no great account of her, do now, seeing her wisdom, both honour and pity her. Immediately upon her husband's death she changed her lodging, withdrew herself from all company, and became so solitary and exempt of all worldliness, that she doth not to this day see daylight, and so will continue out forty days. For the space of fifteen days after the death of her said husband she admitted no man to come into her chamber, but the King, his brethren, the King of Navarre, the Constable, and her uncles.”¹

After referring to the visit of the Spanish Ambassador and the rumours of a marriage with the Prince of Spain, he resumed :²—

“ And for my part I see her behaviour to be such, and her wisdom and kingly modesty so great, in that she thinketh herself not too wise, but is content to be ruled by good counsel and wise men (which is a great virtue in a Prince or Princess, and which argueth a great judgment and wisdom in her), that by their means she cannot do amiss, and I cannot but fear her proceedings with the time, if any means be left and offered her to take advantage by.”

The Venetian Ambassador reported, on January 9, that he had visited Mary and had found her overwhelmed with grief, and almost buried in a room, only lighted by a few candles, according to custom. She had replied to him in a few very sorrowful words, thanking the Doge for his loving message.

¹ *Foreign Calendar*, “Elizabeth,” vol. iii. p. 472. ² *Ibid.* p. 473.

The Requiem Mass

Don Juan Manrique de Lara, arriving late in January with condolences from Philip II., had a confidential talk with the Queen and her uncles. It was reported in Orleans that he had been instructed to treat of the marriage of Her Majesty to the Prince of Spain, and Throckmorton threatened that if this marriage took place, the friendship between Queen Elizabeth and Philip would be turned into enmity.

On January 15, the fortieth day, Mary attended a requiem for her husband at the Church of the Grey Friars, Orleans. The Estates were sitting, and the concourse of all classes must have been great, though probably few except the nobility and clergy secured admission. Four Cardinals were present, Lorraine, Tournon, Bourbon, and Châtillon, with twenty Knights of the Order, wearing their collars; and a crowd of courtiers. After her long confinement such a service must have been a severe ordeal for the widowed Queen, and she removed almost at once for change of air to a château in the vicinity of Orleans.

The States General were prorogued on January 31, and in the first week of February the Court left Orleans for Fontainebleau. The Cardinal of Lorraine set out in the same week for his diocese. A Huguenot of Orleans wrote at this time a satirical letter which reflects the fierce religious contests between parties:—

“At last came the King of Kings. He destroyed the heavy yoke which France was bearing. He saw the eyes which were weeping, because of the two uncles who trampled the royal lilies under foot. Oh, how cursed was the wind which brought to our shores the princess of Scottish blood! Oh, three and four times hapless was our kingdom when the mother came from Italy! These two foreign women will

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never agree with our royal family. One is born of a barbaric stock, and the other of shopkeepers. The noble French blood never will blend with this low strain.”¹

The Earl of Bedford was sent to the French Court by Queen Elizabeth on a mission of condolence and congratulation. Accompanied by Throckmorton, who was recovering from a dangerous illness, he had those famous interviews with Queen Mary at Fontainebleau (February 1561) which are described in all narratives of her life. Bedford was instructed to use his best efforts for the prevention of either an Austrian or a Spanish marriage for the Queen of Scots, and to warn the King of Navarre against the danger of such alliances.

The sincerity of the Queen's mourning for her boy - husband impressed all observers. When Elizabeth's condolences were presented by Bedford on February 16, “she answered with a very sorrowful look and speech that she thanked the Queen for her gentleness in comforting her woe when she had most need of it,” and promised “to be even with her in goodwill.”²

The chief purpose of the diplomatists in the two later interviews (February 18 and 19) was to secure from the now solitary girl the long-deferred ratification of the Treaty of Edinburgh. The Queen of Scots showed in her replies a ready adroitness which baffled the two diplomatists, though each pressed her hard. At first she excused herself on the plea of the Cardinal of Lorraine's absence, which left her without counsel. “The matter was too great for one of her years.”

¹ B. de Lacombe, *Cathérine de Médicis*, pp. 103, 104.

² *Foreign Calendar*, “Elizabeth,” vol. iii. p. 566.

Restoring the Crown Jewels

She requested delay, and at a final interview definitely refused Elizabeth's request on the ground that none of the nobles of her realm was with her, and that so weighty a matter could not be concluded without their advice.

NOTE

ON WHAT DAY DID MARY RESTORE THE CROWN JEWELS ?

In the *Inventaires de la Roynie Descosse*, edited by Joseph Robertson for the Bannatyne Club, there is a slight confusion as to the date on which the Queen handed back the Crown jewels of France. Mr. Robertson wrote: "Her sickly husband, King Francis the Second, died in December 1560; and Mary, hastening to quit a court which was now under the sway of one whom, in her brief day of power, she had taunted with being a merchant's daughter, followed the Duke of Guise to Joinville in March 1561. On the eve of her departure, she made over to Catherine of Medicis, the Queen Mother, the Crown jewels of France, as described in two lists, which set forth the price at which each jewel was valued by a goldsmith of the French King, and by two goldsmiths of the King of Navarre." (Preface, p. xv.) Students of the reign of Francis II. will remember that M. Louis Paris, in his invaluable collection of documents which were published in 1841 for the French Government under the title, *Négociations, Lettres, et Pièces diverses relatives au règne de François II.*, gives the inventories of Crown jewels handed over by Mary, and the receipts returned to her on behalf of the King (pp. 738-744). We see from the "Inventaires" of the Crown jewels printed by Louis Paris that Mary handed them over on the day following her husband's death (December 6),

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and the two receipts she received are dated the same day. There is nothing in this fact inconsistent with the receipt on which Mr. Robertson relied, for this, as we see from his Appendix, was not for Mary, but for the goldsmiths who had taken the jewels into their possession for the purpose of estimating their value (*Inventaires de la Royne Descosse*, pp. 203, 204).¹ The point is well worth noting. Mary was not permitted, as Mr. Robertson supposed, to hold the Crown jewels for several months after her husband's death, but was required to hand them over on the first day of her widowhood. Catherine de' Medici took them at once into her charge, and the goldsmiths proceeded to value them. It is interesting to compare the lists printed by Mr. Robertson with those printed by M. Paris.

The jewels, as we might expect, are much more fully and closely described in the later than in the earlier inventories. The pieces, for example, numbered 1, 2, and 3 in the inventory printed by Mr. Robertson (and supplied to him by M. Teulet), occupy nearly three pages of his text. In the hastily written inventory prepared for Queen Mary in the first hours of her sorrow, twelve lines suffice for the mention of these three precious treasures. The order is the same in the different accounts, but the goldsmiths' assistants had their professional pride in numbering and estimating every gem. There is no attempt at estimating values in the inventories of December 6, which were very hurriedly prepared.

To the modern reader there is something characteristic of Catherine de' Medici in the haste with which the girl Queen was despoiled of the jewels of the Crown of France. She had watched with patient affection by the side of the sufferer, but no sooner was the breath out of his body than she was ruthlessly summoned to a business which might in decency

¹ This receipt is dated April 30, 1561. The jewellers had been at their task since February 26.

Restoring the Crown Jewels

have been deferred till after his funeral. In examining and comparing these inventories, we realise to the full the loneliness of the widowed Queen's position. She might well turn for support to her mother's nearest relatives, for they at least would respect the first hours of her bereavement. Might not some slight breathing-space have been accorded to her by the mother-in-law who was now virtual Queen of France? The words of the "Certification" of December 6, 1560, are worth quoting in the original:—

"Nous, Charles, par la grâce de Dieu, roi de France, certifions à tous qu'il appartiendra qu'ayant pleu à Dieu appeler à sa part le feu roi François, deuxième du nom, notre très-honoré seigneur et frère, que Dieu absolve, la royne Marie, notre très-chère et très-aimée sœur, a en présence de notre très-chère et très-honorée dame et mère remis en nos mains toutes les bagues et joyaulx de la couronne de France qui luy feurent délivrés à l'advènement de feu notredict seigneur et frère, son seigneur et espoux, à cestedicte couronne, et qui sont contenus en l'inventaire qui en fut faict lors de la délivrance, en date du xvi. juillet l'an mil cinq cent soixante,¹ signé François et contresigné Robertet," etc. (*Négociations sous François II.*, p. 740, and see pp. 742, 743).

Catherine de' Medici's personal receipt to Mary for the Crown jewels placed in her care is also dated December 6 (*Négociations sous François II.*, p. 744).

¹ *Sic.* The use of the word "soixante" must be an error due to haste, for it has been stated in the preceding lines that the jewels were given to Mary at the accession of Francis II. (July 1559).

CHAPTER XIX

CATHERINE DE' MEDICI AND MARY STUART

Personal relations of Catherine and Mary after the death of Francis II.—Mary involved in the discredit of the Guises—Catherine's letters to the Duchess of Savoy and the Queen of Spain—Proposals for Mary's second marriage—Possible husbands—"A gentleman who is going to Champagne"—The portraits shown to Don Carlos—Was one of them Mary's?—Opposing views of Mr. Armstrong and Baron de Ruble—Catherine's objections to the Spanish marriage for Mary—Her letters to the Bishop of Limoges and the Bishop of Rennes.

ALTHOUGH herself a widow of less than two years' standing, Catherine de' Medici showed no tenderness to her daughter-in-law in these days of mourning. The time was gone for ever when she had hoped to find in the Scottish Queen the prop of her old age. After the death of Henry II. the relations between the elder and younger Queens had remained friendly, and Catherine yielded precedence without ill-grace to her son's wife. Mary wrote tenderly to her mother of Catherine's sufferings under her bereavement, and the serious condition of her health.¹ It was only the dutiful obedience of the King her son that made her cling to life, and her death, added the writer, "would be the greatest misfortune that could happen to this poor country and to all of us."

Cardinal Santa Croce is the authority for the statement that Mary had described the Queen Mother

¹ *Maitland Club Miscellany*, vol. i. pp. 244, 245.

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as a shopkeeper's daughter, and, if such words were used, Catherine may have laid them up along with Montmorency's insulting observation, that the only child of Henry II. who resembled him was his natural daughter, Diane of France, wife of the Constable's son Francis.¹ Sir James Melville, who declares that Catherine was "blyeth of the death of King Francis hir sone, because sche had na gyding of him,"² adds that the Regent was "content to be quyt of the gouvernement of the house of Guise," and that she had "a gret mislyking of our Quen." Mary, according to Melville, was fully aware of her own altered position after the Guises had been "driven to the door," and left the Court because she was no longer "weill lyked." Melville's testimony must rest on facts learned from Mary, whom he saw as "a sorowfull wydow . . . in a gentilman's house four myll fra Orleans."³ The Queen Mother's "rygorous and vengeable dealing" was explained on the ground that she had been despised by her daughter-in-law during the short reign of Francis II. The Guises were blamed for instigating their niece to such unkindness, and it was, indeed, inevitable that something of their disgrace should fall on her.

The private letters of Catherine, written during her eldest son's illness and after his death, are instructive in their silence about Mary. While Francis lay dying, Catherine was preparing for her own political triumph, and the letters she wrote in December to ambassadors indicate that she had full confidence in her own ability to reconcile divided parties among the nobility.

¹ F. Decrue, *Anne de Montmorency*, vol. ii. p. 256.

² *Memoirs*, p. 86.

³ *Ibid.* p. 87.

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A letter to her sister-in-law, Margaret, Duchess of Savoy, which is undated, but was probably written on December 3 or 4, proves, as does her official communication of December 4 to the Sieur de Villefrancon, that the fatal issue of the King's malady was clearly foreseen.¹ Writing frankly to the Duchess, Catherine wavers between hope and fear, but her thoughts, it is clear, are already wrestling with the morrow. In mind she is living in the new reign, though her heart has not quite withdrawn its tenderness for the sufferer whose breath is growing fainter through the long winter nights. "I beg you, Madam, to pardon me if I cause you distress, for the desire I have to see myself so supported that the King of Navarre shall not do wrong to him who is of your blood [Charles] is the cause, and not that I am not of hope of seeing him [Francis] recover."² She had evidently feared that the kind-hearted Margaret of Savoy might think an appeal for her own and her husband's loyal support to a new sovereign somewhat premature while the issue of the King's illness was doubtful. Was it by accident or design that Catherine did not make one sympathetic reference to her daughter-in-law in writing to the Princess who had watched with solicitude over the young girl's early education?

The most pathetic of Catherine's letters of this period is addressed to her eldest daughter, Elizabeth, Queen of Spain.³ She is full of pity for herself, but has no word of pity for Elizabeth's once beloved companion. "I am left," she says, "with three little children, and in a kingdom deeply divided,

¹ *Négociations sous François II.*, p. 730.

² *Lettres de Cathérine de Médicis*, vol. i. p. 155.

³ *Ibid.* p. 158.

Proposals for a Second Marriage

having not a single person whom I can trust at all, and who is not guided by some private passion." "You have seen me as happy as you are, thinking I should never have any other trouble than that I was not loved as much as I could have wished to be, by the King your father, who honoured me more than I deserved." The thoughts of the Regent were centred on the four children under her charge, the eldest of whom, though she did not include him among the little ones, was only ten years old.

Proposals for Mary's second marriage were discussed with the same indecent haste with which Catherine had put forward "a true and lawful successor" to the crown.

On December 6, Throckmorton had written: "As far as I can learn, she more esteemeth the continuation of her honour, and to marry one that may uphold her to be great, than she passeth to please her fancy by taking one that is accompanied with such small benefit and alliance as thereby her estimation and fame is not increased." ¹

The Ambassador, ever ready to warn and to advise, thought that English statesmen should see to it that the second marriage of the Queen of Scotland should "do but little harm."

The marriage which the English most dreaded was that with the son of Philip II. Catherine, also, was opposed to such a union, for she had destined her youngest daughter, Margaret, to be the bride of Don Carlos. Montmorency laid this scheme before Chantonay in an interview of January 10.² The Constable, as an ally of England, was opposed to a Scottish

¹ *Foreign Calendar*, "Elizabeth," vol. iii. p. 423.

² F. Decrue, *Anne de Montmorency*, vol. ii. p. 295.

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union with Spain, and he dreaded also the possibility of Mary's marriage with the little Charles IX., since this would mean a restitution of Guise sovereignty. He was agreed with Catherine and Antoine de Bourbon in favouring the Queen's marriage with Arran, who, as the three fancied, might become a puppet of France. "In politics, Montmorency agreed with England; in religion, with Spain."

In the correspondence of the Bishop of Limoges, French Ambassador at the Spanish Court, we find, soon after the death of Francis II., mysterious references to a "gentleman who is going to Champagne." This "gentleman" was Mary Stuart.

Writing to the Bishop on December 19, Catherine said: "You know the plan for a marriage which, as I lately caused your brother to inform you, is brewing here.¹ I have since heard that it is being pushed forward. Take care to find out how matters stand in this respect." In the same letter Catherine revealed anxiety lest Philip II. should have resented the fall of the Guises and the elevation of his enemy, the King of Navarre, and she insisted that Antoine de Bourbon was entirely under her own control and holding a subordinate position. She characteristically pleaded that the favour shown to him and the other princes of the blood had been granted "by force and necessity." For her young son, Charles IX., she claimed the fatherly protection of Philip.

Madame de Clermont, lady-in-waiting to the Queen of Spain, writing from Toledo on February 6 to the Queen Mother, told that Don Carlos had seen portraits

¹ *Négociations sous François II.*, p. 787. The Secretary of State, Claude de l'Aubespine, was a brother of the Bishop of Limoges.

Portraits seen by Don Carlos

sent from France, among which was one of the little Margaret of Valois. Asked which he preferred, he answered, "La chiquita," "The little one." "I replied that he was right, for she was better for him, at which he began to laugh and blush. There is no talk here of the other marriage, except that it is understood that *she* is going to Joinville."¹

Whose were the portraits which Don Carlos was invited to compare? We gather from the letter of Madame de Clermont that there were only two,² and

¹ *Négociations sous François II.*, p. 803.

² The passage is as follows:—"Quant vostre courier est arrivé il [Philippe] ne faisoit que partir de sa chambre, et la prinsesse [Jeanne de Portugal] y estoit, qui trouva les deux peintures fort belles, prinssipalement la petite Madame. Et sur l'eure arriva le prinse [Carlos] à qui ils furent montrées et lui demandes qui lui samblet la plus belle? Il me fit responce *la chiquite*, où je luy dis qu'il avoit raison, pour ce qu'elle estoit mieus pour lui; de quoi il se prist à rire et rougir" (*Négociations sous François II.*, p. 803).

Madame de Clermont, it is evident, was comparing the portrait of the child Margaret, not with that of Elizabeth, but with that of Mary. The only justification for the opposite view is drawn from a letter of the Queen of Spain to her mother, which is undated, but follows, in the portfolio of the Bishop of Limoges, immediately after that of Madame de Clermont (*Négociations sous François II.*, pp. 805, 806). Elizabeth writes: "Madame, pour continuer tousjours à faire vostre commandement de vous mander toutes nouvelles, je n'ay voullu faillir à vous escrire la présente; pour vous dire comme quant les pintures arrivarent, la princesse estoit issy, qui les treuva les plus belles du monde et prinssipalement celle de ma petite seur; et le prince vint après, qui les vist et me dist trois ou quatre fois en riant: *Mas hermosa es la pequeña*. Si es aussy, et je ay asseuré bien qu'elle estoit bien faite, et Madame de Clermont luy dit que c'estoit une belle femme pour luy; il se print à rire et ne respondit."

Mr. E. Armstrong, in reviewing M. de Ruble's book, *Le Traité de Cateau-Cambrésis*, in the *English Historical Review* (vol. v. p. 164), refers to the Queen's letter, and remarks that Don Carlos repaid with gratitude, if not always with politeness, the kindness shown him by Elizabeth. "On being shown a portrait of Margaret he exclaimed, 'The little one is the prettier.' 'Which indeed,' the young Queen plaintively remarks, 'is true.'" This is a misinterpretation of the words "*si es aussy*," which Elizabeth did not apply to herself or her own portrait, but surely to that of Mary. It may be noted that in

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although there is some difference of opinion among historians, the writer agrees with M. de Ruble that one was that of Mary Stuart, and not, as Mr. Armstrong supposed, that of the Prince's stepmother, Elizabeth of Valois. Why should Catherine send a portrait of Elizabeth from France ?

On March 3, Catherine wrote to the Bishop of Limoges, pressing him to use his influence in favour of a marriage between Don Carlos (then aged fourteen) and Margaret of Valois (aged seven). Again the Regent expressed her earnest wish to break off the other scheme, writing as usual vaguely, and without mentioning the name of her daughter-in-law. "One of her uncles [the Cardinal] has left for Champagne, whither she was to have followed him three days after our arrival here [Fontainebleau], but her departure was delayed, and she shows here as much submissive obedience [literally "obsequiousness"] to me as she ever did." ¹

On March 10, the Bishop of Limoges wrote again to Catherine about the "gentleman." He was evidently afraid that his dispatches might fall into the hands of the Guises. They were therefore unsigned, and were addressed to "M. le Curé de Rocquerolles." The Ambassador hinted in this letter that the

his allusion to the letters of the Queen and Madame de Clermont in *Le Traité de Cateau-Cambrésis* M. de Ruble expressed no opinion as to the other picture or pictures sent from Orleans, and indeed only mentioned that of Margaret (pp. 307, 308). His opinion must be sought for in another work, *Antoine de Bourbon et Jeanne d'Albret* (vol. iii. p. 110). He says that Catherine "proposa à Philippe II. la main de Marguerite de Valois, sœur du roi, pour l'infant Don Carlos, et envoya à l'infant les portraits des deux princesses, Marguerite et Marie. Le peintre, bon courtisan, avait flatté la première et enlaidi la seconde. Le petit prince les regarda toutes deux et dit sentencieusement, '*Mas hermosa es la pequeña.*'"

¹ *Négociations sous François II.*, p. 819.

“The Gentleman” in Champagne

Spaniards, who had heard that the Queen of England was ill, believed that through a marriage of their Prince to Mary, the heir to the English throne, they would gain complete possession of that country. “That is assuredly their aim and principal object, if my judgment is sound, for whatever good words the master [Philip II.] may have said to his wife, and other servants to me, I see and grasp the fact that in meetings held in private they speak differently, and do not expect or desire any other issue than to see the said gentleman [Mary] out of your hands and power.”¹ Philip II. was at this moment much tempted, it would appear, by the offer of Mary’s hand for his son, and Don Carlos, though a sickly, unattractive boy, had not yet fallen into the dangerous mental and physical state which resulted from his accident in April 1562.

The Queen Mother heard with annoyance of the “fancy they are beginning to take over there for the *gentleman*,” and in a letter of April 1, she again appealed to Sébastien de l’Aubespine to break off the negotiations. “There is nothing I would not rather attempt and risk than to see that come to pass which would displease me so much and which would be so injurious to her [Elizabeth of Spain] and to me, and to this kingdom also.”² On April 7, Catherine asked help from Ruy Gomez, Prince of Eboli,³ favourite Minister of Philip. From an undated letter of Elizabeth to her mother, it would appear that her husband denied to her that the Guises were treating for the marriage of their niece with the Prince,⁴—a

¹ *Négociations sous François II.*, p. 824.

² *Ibid.* p. 844.

³ A. Chéruel, *Marie Stuart et Cathérine de Médicis*, p. 19.

⁴ *Négociations sous François II.*, p. 847. See also pp. 871, 872.

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denial which was not likely to impose upon the Regent.

"The said gentleman," wrote Catherine, "left Court the other day, and after this festival [Easter] is to go to see his grandmother, and I hear that the Duchess of Arschot has been to visit him at Rheims. There have been great discussions between them and the uncle who is there. I do not know whether they are not preliminary to the erection of that building [*i.e.* the Spanish marriage]. You may let the Queen my daughter know of this, so that she may try to discover over there what is the meaning of the said journey, as I will do on my side."¹

Catherine's letter of April 11 to the Bishop of Rennes (Bernardin Bochetel) has been misunderstood by some writers. Because it is addressed to the French Ambassador at the Emperor's Court, the assumption has been hastily made that "le prince Charles" mentioned by Catherine was the Archduke Charles, while it was obviously the Prince of Spain, Don Carlos.²

¹ A Chéruel, *Marie Stuart et Cathérine de Médicis*, p. 20.

² The letter is printed by Le Laboureur in his *Additions to the Memoirs of Castelnau*, vol. i. p. 555, and by Count de la Ferrière in the *Letters of Cathérine de Médicis*, vol. i. p. 186. The learned editor of the letters assumed that "le prince Charles" was the Archduke. In the *Foreign Calendar* ("Elizabeth," vol. iv. p. 65) a translation of the letter is introduced in a rather curious connection. Shers wrote to Cecil from Venice on April 19, 1561: "There is a rumour risen here this week amongst the best, and not yet common, that the late French Queen and the Queen of Scots has concluded for marriage, or rather as some others will say, is about to conclude, with the Emperor's son; and upon the same there want no discoursers and setters forth of many good good-morrows touching our country."

Father Stevenson inserts his translation of Catherine's letter of April 11 to the Bishop of Rennes as a footnote to this passage, quoting in the margin Le Laboureur as his authority. But on turning to the pages of Le Laboureur, we find that he at least had no suspicion that "le prince Charles" was any one except Don Carlos. He introduces the letter with a paragraph (vol. i. p. 555) explaining the reasons why

Suitors for Mary

Catherine wrote : ¹—

“ Yesterday I received your letter of the 13th March, which came by Switzerland, and to-day that of the 11th, which came by Flanders, which show me that you are well informed of what is passing with you. In answer to your last letter I may state that the extract which you send me from the dispatch of the Emperor’s Ambassador at Rome addressed to the Emperor corresponds with what I have said to Jean Manriques in the matter which he is pursuing here. Hence I am more and more confirmed in my impression of the truth of the discovery which I have made, viz. that the mission of Manriques hither was not entirely one of condolence, since I perceive that he is a personage on familiar terms with his master and much beloved by Prince Charles. Add to this the reasons which I have from other quarters, that there are some here [the Guises] who are strenuously urging forward this project,²

Catherine disliked the prospect of a marriage between Carlos and Mary. These reasons were (1) the great accession of power which would thus be obtained by Philip II., and (2) the danger of a close alliance between Spain and the house of Lorraine. She feared that with such an increase of authority, the Guises might be able to maintain themselves independently of the French Crown.

Immediately after printing the letter, *Le Laboureur* goes on (p. 556): “ Le Cardinal de Granvelle et le sieur de Chantonay son frère, ambassadeur, ou pour mieux dire, explorateur d’Espagne en France, sollicitoient fortement le mariage de l’Infant avec Marie Stuart, tant envers le Roy Catholique qu’envers le Duc de Guise et le Cardinal de Lorraine, et pour en mesme tems le haster à le conclure et d’une mesme main éloigner et rompre, s’il leur estoit possible, celuy du Roy Charles IX., avec la fille du Roy des Romains ils firent publier qu’il recherchoit aussi la Reine d’Escosse ; et qu’il ne tenoit plus qu’à la dispense à laquelle on travailloit.”

In letters where she has occasion to mention the Archduke Charles, Catherine gives him his proper title, “ l’Archiduc ” (*Le Laboureur*, vol. i. p. 554).

¹ Translation in *Foreign Calendar*, “ Elizabeth,” vol. iv. p. 65, note.

² Literally, “ pushing hard at this wheel.” “ Joint les autres arguments que j’avois d’ailleurs que l’on poussoit fort à cette roue là de ce costé icy.”

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which, however, I would not wish to see carried out as far as the good of this realm is concerned. Therefore, M. de Rennes, I trust that you (having regard to the trust which I have in you, and to the duty imposed upon those persons who are employed in the service of the King, my son) will employ all the skill you possibly can to discover the truth of this projected marriage between the Queen of Scotland my daughter, and the Prince Charles, and that immediately you have anything to communicate you will enclose it, in cipher in the packet of l'Aubespine, informing me of the pros and cons of what you may detect. This will help me to see my way clearly and to remedy what may become necessary."

The key to this letter lies in the references to Don Juan Manrique. His master was not the Emperor, but Philip II., and Catherine wished the Bishop of Rennes to find out what gossip on the subject of the marriage of Don Carlos was going on at the Imperial Court. On January 10, Throckmorton had announced that "the King of Spain minds to send to this Prince [Charles IX.] Don John Manryques, Great Master of the Artillery in Spain, a man in great credit with his master and of his council."¹ Don Juan reached Orleans on January 25, and on February 11 Bedford wrote to Cecil: "Manriques is departed, rewarded with 1500 crowns." If the emissary of Philip II. tried to "push" at any matrimonial "wheel," it was that of his master's son, not that of the Archduke Charles.

In the long and important letter of April 21 to the

¹ Throckmorton used almost the same words in January that Catherine did in April—"personnage près de son maître, fort aimé du prince Charles."

Considerations of Policy

Bishop of Limoges,¹ Catherine proposed that a meeting should be arranged between herself and Philip II. To this interview she meant to bring her daughter Margaret, hoping that when Philip saw the little girl, he might be persuaded to accept her as his son's bride. Catherine's dread of the Spanish marriage for Mary Stuart was shared by the Queen of England and the Protestant party in France. Philip II. did not venture to press the matter against the will of two nations, and the personal disabilities of Don Carlos became in later years the chief hindrance to all schemes for his marriage.

Even if Catherine had retained something of her early maternal feeling for the Queen of Scots, considerations of policy must still have led her to disapprove of the Spanish alliance. The lives of Princes were apt to be short in that century, and if Elizabeth of England died, and Mary were the wife of Carlos, Spain, already the first world-power, would acquire a preponderance that must be perilous to her neighbours.

The Cardinal of Lorraine was naturally tempted by the prospect of the Spanish marriage for his niece. Chantonay tells that one day, when he was mourning over her bereavement and the difficulty of finding for her an equal match, he said distinctly that the only fitting husband was Don Carlos. The Ambassador replied in general terms that so beautiful and charming a Princess would have no difficulty in finding a husband worthy of her rank.² According to Chantonay, Catherine tried to dissuade the Cardinal from furthering this marriage.

¹ A. Chéruef, *Marie Stuart et Cathérine de Médicis*, p. 25.

² Letter quoted by A. de Ruble, *Antoine de Bourbon et Jeanne d'Albret*, vol. iii. p. 109.

Catherine and Mary

The feelings of the Regent, the King of Navarre, the Constable and his family, towards the Queen of Scots in the spring of 1561, might be summed up in the Duke of Alba's report to Philip II., written from Huesca in October 1563, two years after Mary had returned to Scotland. Alba wrote that all those who surrounded the Queen Mother, being enemies of the Queen of Scots, because she belonged to the house of Guise, feared that if she again ascended the throne of France, that family would regain its former credit and might overthrow themselves.

Alba reminded his sovereign that the Constable, when they were together, "se donnait au diable" on the question of Mary's first marriage, because of the power it had brought to the house of Guise, adding that if they had waited till he was out of prison, she would never have become the Dauphin's bride.¹ Catherine had, in fact, one worse fear than that of the Spanish marriage. If Mary were to become the wife of Charles IX., her own authority would be ruined, and the cup of power, which she had barely tasted, would be dashed from her lips. Le Laboureur says that Philip of Spain "swallowed up in expectation all the realms of Christendom." Catherine, in her secret heart, may have applied this thought to her daughter-in-law.

¹ *Papiers d'État de Granvelle*, vol. vii. p. 238.

CHAPTER XX

MARY AT RHEIMS AND NANCY

The Cardinal of Lorraine at Rheims—Mary's departure from Court—Reasons for her journey to Rheims—The Abbey of Saint-Pierre-les-Dames—Mary's Book of Hours—Expected visit of the Lord James—Mary's meeting with him at Saint-Dizier—The Lord James's letter from Edinburgh after his return—His advice to his sister—Queen Mary at Nancy—Her illness and removal to Joinville.

THE position of the widowed Queen at Fontainebleau must have been painful indeed if the Regent's manner reflected anything of the harshness of her correspondence, and Mary doubtless accepted with joy the invitation to spend Easter at Rheims with her aunt, the Abbess of Saint-Pierre-les-Dames.

The Cardinal of Lorraine had set out for his diocese before the rising of the States General. Surian mentioned that many persons doubted whether he would return to Court. It was thought, wrote the Venetian Ambassador, that his absence would lead to peace and unity in the Government, as he was universally hated; "for although he possessed remarkable ability, much learning and eloquence, great experience in governing, and a knowledge of many things, he was held to be very obstinate in his opinions and incompetent, and was frequently defeated in negotiations. Moreover, he was very haughty and disagreeable in his behaviour to every one, and was accused of having

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excited many disturbances, in order to put down and humble the other great personages of the kingdom.”¹

With Surian's dispatch we may compare the letter addressed by the Cardinal to the Bishop of Limoges on April 9 from Rheims.² The writer was evidently in a chastened and softened mood.

“Monsieur de Limoges,” he said, “your brother, M. de l'Aubespine,³ has sent on the letter you have written me, and I am very glad to have the full account you give me of the news from over there [Spain]. I thank you for this, and wish I had something to pay you back with from this place to which I have retired and where I have been living all this Lent. I have no news to give you except of the services and sermons with which I am busy, teaching and edifying my little flock. I assure you that I find as much pleasure in these as I formerly did in the toils and business of the Court, and I feel so much sweetness and rest in this work that the wish to return thither is at present far removed from my thoughts. . . . I start to-morrow to escort Queen Mary, who is here, to Joinville, and thence I go to Lorraine, intending to come back here for the Coronation, which has been fixed for May 11.”⁴

This is the typical letter of a statesman out of office, and the ecclesiastical politicians of earlier centuries had this advantage over modern party-leaders that

¹ *Dispatches of Suriano and Barbaro* (Huguenot Society's Publications, vol. vi.), p. 14.

² Easter Day, in 1561, fell on April 6, so that the Cardinal's letter was written on Wednesday in Easter Week, and he had planned to leave Rheims with Queen Mary on the Thursday.

³ Claude, the Secretary of State.

⁴ The original of this letter is in the Bibliothèque de Rouen. It is quoted in full by Joseph de Croze in *Les Guise, les Valois et Philippe II.*, vol. i. pp. 220, 230; and also by M. Chéruel.

Spies in Mary's Household

they could turn from the cares of public life to a bracing and revivifying occupation, which called forth all that was best in their natures. The expression "faire l'âme," had a real meaning for them. At his Palace in Rheims, the Cardinal is said to have welcomed Beza, and it is reported, on the authority of the "Bourgeois de Reims," that the Reformer said, as he retired from the conference, "If I had that man's eloquence, I should convert half France."

There can be no doubt, however, that Surian was justified in his description of the odium into which the Cardinal had fallen, and the Duke of Guise was probably more thankful than any one to see him depart from Court.

The Queen of Scots was in Paris on March 20, on her way to Rheims.¹ On the 22nd, Throckmorton wrote: "The Queen of Scotland is gone towards Rheims, where she minds to lie this Easter, and then goes into Lorraine, where she minds to receive Lord James, her brother."²

The Ambassador regretted that he might fail to obtain full knowledge of Mary's doings, "for that some of his instruments are left behind, and others cannot go where she will be."

Notwithstanding the watchfulness of her relatives, the Queen's household, it appears, was haunted by English spies, and the fact is noteworthy in view of the stainless reputation she bore in France. Had there been the faintest cause for scandal, a hundred tongues would have been wagging, and Throckmorton's

¹ *Foreign Calendar*, "Elizabeth," vol. iv. p. 29. Surian's letter of March 18 mentions Mary's arrival in Paris, but the paragraph may have been added on the 20th.

² *Ibid.* p. 34.

Mary at Rheims and Nancy

letters would have been filled with innuendoes. It is pleasant to learn from him that the young girl spent her one day in Paris "looking upon such robes and jewels as she had here." Mary was regaining her spirits, after the shock of bereavement, which had followed days of close attendance by a sick-bed. Change of air and a freer, gayer life than that of the Court were now essential to her full recovery. From the scarcely veiled enmity, the hourly supervision of Catherine, she escaped to the tender care of her aunt and her grandmother. "Divers reasons," wrote Throckmorton, "are pretended for this; such as change of air, and to take away some part of her sorrowful remembrance of her late husband; but it is thought rather that the matter of the late motion of a marriage with one of the Emperor's sons may be better and more secretly handled there. This matter is greatly followed by her uncles, but not so well liked of the rest here."¹

There were rumours also of proposals for a marriage with Frederic II., King of Denmark, which were not approved by the Guises.² The Ambassador of Denmark had boasted that his master was the strongest Prince of Christendom upon the sea.

Eric XIV., King of Sweden, put in his claim, and the Prince of Orange was also named as a suitor for Mary's hand. On March 31, Surian wrote that he had learned from Throckmorton that the King of Spain was favourable to this arrangement. "This proposed marriage did not, it appeared, please M. de Guise, who intended to find a higher alliance for

¹ *Foreign Calendar*, "Elizabeth," vol. iv. p. 41.

² *Ibid.* p. 42.

The Abbey of Saint-Pierre

the Queen of Scots." The presence of the Duchess of Arschot, sister of the Prince of Orange, at Rheims, led to the belief that the affair was far advanced.¹

The royal guest was received in the Cathedral city by four of her uncles, the Cardinals of Lorraine and Guise, the Duke of Aumale and the Marquis of Elbœuf. Her grandmother, the Duchess Antoinette, was also at Rheims on a visit for Easter.

Though the Abbey of Saint-Pierre at Rheims exists no longer, visitors are still shown portions of the conventual buildings, which are surrounded by newer houses. Very silent and deserted to-day is the Rue Saint-Pierre-les-Dames, which opens from the Place Goudinot. Except for the noise of the tram-cars in University Street, this square is as still as the Place du Parvis. By a dark and narrow stone staircase, now belonging to a private residence, we climb to the so-called "room of Mary Stuart," which the Queen is said to have occupied on her visit of 1561. One of the other rooms has a large and ancient fireplace and richly panelled walls. From the pulpit of the Abbey church, Charles of Lorraine delivered some of his Lenten sermons. The Abbey could be reached in a six or seven minutes' walk from his Palace.

In the public Library of Rheims is preserved that priceless Book of Hours which once belonged to Queen Mary. It is bound in calf, the back and sides being covered with arabesques and the edges gilt. On one side are the arms of France and Scotland, and on the other the device of Francis II.

¹ *Dispatches of Suriano and Barbaro*, p. 22. *Foreign Calendar*, "Elizabeth," vol. iv. p. 45.

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It was given by the Queen to her aunt, Renée of Lorraine.¹

If the daily services of Holy Week occupied much of the Queen's time, political talk can hardly have been excluded from the Abbey parlour or the Archbishop's library. The chief subject of Lenten gossip must have been the approaching visit of the Lord James from Scotland. A Cardinal's hat, it was rumoured, was at the disposal of Mary's brother if he would accept it.

English politicians, meanwhile, were bending all their energies to secure the ratification of the Treaty of Edinburgh. Throckmorton, whose release had been made to depend on this diplomatic success, foresaw that the result of the private deliberations at Rheims would not be favourable to his hopes. He dolefully announced to Cecil that if his return depended on the ratification he would not come home at all, and in one of those passages of self-pity which interrupt so amusingly the general strain of his sharp and worldly correspondence, he dwelt on the thought that ere long poverty would send him home and make him keep there, or death send him to his long home.

¹ M. Louis Paris, in a note on the first fly-leaf, wrote: "Il ne reste qu'un seul souvenir du séjour de Marie Stuart en cette ville. C'est un livre d'Heures qu'elle laissa au monastère de Saint-Pierre-les-Dames, et qui se trouve aujourd'hui à la bibliothèque. La reliure de ce volume est des plus remarquables et dans le genre des reliures dites de Grolier. Sur l'un des plats se voient les armes de François, dauphin et roi d'Écosse, avec la lettre F; sur l'autre une sphère suspendue au ciel au-dessus du globe terrestre, avec cette devise, *Unus non sufficit orbis*, qu'il prit, ainsi que le dit Mézeray (vol. iii. p. 47) lorsqu'il épousa Marie Stuart, héritière d'Écosse."

A further description of this beautiful volume (which visitors may see in the Hôtel de Ville at Rheims by asking permission of the Librarian) is given by M. Bauchart in *Les Femmes Bibliophiles*, vol. i., and by Mr. G. F. Barwick in *A Book Bound for Mary Queen of Scots* (Illustrated Monographs issued by the Bibliographical Society, No. IX.).

The Meeting with Lesley

Mary left Rheims on or about April 10, and proceeded by way of Châlons and Saint-Dizier to Joinville. She must have leant more closely than even in childhood's days on her uncle as she advanced to meet the formidable relative who had been sent from Scotland, and who, as the French Catholics knew, was a *personá grata* to Elizabeth. The Queen of Scots had sent in February four messengers to Edinburgh, requesting the Estates to renew the ancient alliance with France. As a result of the Catholic meeting at Stirling, Lesley, afterwards Bishop of Ross, was sent to France to consult with his sovereign. He was the emissary, not only of the Bishops, but of the great Catholic peers, including Huntly, Athole, Crawford, and Caithness. Lesley was commissioned to invite the Queen to land at some northern port, where her nobles would be ready to support her with twenty thousand men. Lesley saw his mistress on April 14 at Vitry-le-François in Champagne, and promised "faithfull service and dewtie from all the principall nobill men, bischoppis, clergie and borrowis of the north of Scotland, quhilk was acceptit in very guid part be hir highness." ¹

The astute counsellors who stood beside the Queen understood the futility of this request from a beaten party. Huntly's loyalty was doubtful. If Mary returned to her realm, she must go as Queen of all her people. The Guises did not contemplate at this moment any wars of religion for Scotland.²

¹ *History of Scotland*, p. 294.

² M. Philippon, commenting on Mary's refusal of Lesley's proposal, says: "Nous croyons ne pas nous tromper en supposant, qu'un plan de campagne aussi profond et sagace lui avait été suggéré par son conseiller ordinaire, le rusé et perspicace Cardinal de Lorraine." *Marie Stuart*, vol. i. p. 291.

Mary at Rheims and Nancy

The most trusted counsellors of Mary of Guise, including M. d'Oysel, were now in France, and had given advice which did not correspond with Lesley's. According to Sir James Melville, they advised the young Queen to return to Scotland, and to "serve the time," accommodating herself to her subjects and giving her chief confidence to her brother, and to the Earl of Argyll, who had married her sister, Lady Jane Stuart. They further recommended her to use Secretary Lethington and the Laird of Grange "maist tenderly in all her affairs," "and in effect, to repose maist upon them of the reformed religion."¹

It has been remarked that the Lord James, in seeking the interview at Saint-Dizier, was putting his head into the lion's mouth. May it not be suggested that his friendly visit to the Guises in 1561, when he was their guest for several days at Joinville, is fair evidence that he did not suspect them of having poisoned the Scots Commissioners in 1558, or of having brewed for himself that "ill drink" from the effects of which, some said, he suffered ever afterwards?

For the actual incidents of the interview, we must read between the lines of the letter which the Lord James wrote to his sister on June 10, eleven days after his return to Edinburgh.² He has been

¹ *Memoirs of Sir James Melville*, pp. 88, 89.

² Philippson, *Marie Stuart*, vol. iii. Appendix A. M. Philippson remarks (vol. i. p. 292): "Le frère de Marie Stuart partit avec la ferme intention de faire servir surtout ce voyage à son profit personnel." M. Philippson, whose history was published in 1891, mentions that this letter (British Museum, Add. MSS, 32091, fol. 189) was unknown until he discovered it (vol. i. p. 296, note 3), but this must be the same letter which is mentioned by the Historical MSS Commission of 1876 (Appendix to Fifth Report, p. 310). It is there given as from the MSS of Sir Alexander Malet, and a passage is quoted which is practically identical with the text as printed by M. Philippson. The passage is as follows: "Take stinte, Madame; judge this with yourself that thair

Visit of the Lord James

severely blamed by some historians because he communicated to Throckmorton, on his return to Paris, the facts of his interviews with the Queen. It must be remembered, however, that to him the maintenance of the Scottish Reformation was a matter of primary importance, that he had good reason to dread the further interference of the Guises in the affairs of his country, and that the help of England might ere long be necessary to the nobles in resisting Catholic encroachments. The statement that as he returned through England he advised Elizabeth to provide for religion and her own safety by intercepting his sister on her journey is, as Dr. Hay Fleming points out, "inconsistent with Lesley's statement that the Lord James hastened home to prepare for her early and honourable reception, and is still more inconsistent with the remarkable letter concerning the English succession, addressed by the maligned Commendator of St. Andrews to Elizabeth on the 6th of August."¹ In that letter the Lord James suggested "that Elizabeth's title to the English crown should 'remain untouched' both for herself and her issue; that Mary's place should be reserved as 'next in lawful descent of the right line of Henry

is na man that knoweth perfectly the present estate of your realm and desireth with true affection the advancement of your grace's service, that will ever advise your grace to meddle with matters of religion at this time. If it shall please your grace to credit me and follow my foresaid advice, proceeding from an unfeigned heart that truly willeth your grace's advancement, then fear not that your grace shall have a perfect obedience in despite of any will press the contrair whatsoever they be (God willing), and thereupon I will bestow my own life most willingly."

For the meeting between Mary and her brother, Dr. Hay Fleming's important notes should be consulted. *Mary Queen of Scots*, pp. 234-236.

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 235, 236.

Mary at Rheims and Nancy

Henry VII.,' and that, in the meantime, 'this isle should be united in a perpetual friendship.'"¹

Turning to the letter written by the Lord James from Edinburgh on June 10, we hear echoes of the talks at Saint-Dizier and Joinville which are more helpful than Throckmorton's reports. The difficulties of the writer's position are painfully evident. He was near the throne; young, gifted, in all respects *capax imperii*; but the bar sinister on his escutcheon was a broad band of cloud shutting out his hopes. We are not told whether he met at Joinville Dom Claude, that illegitimate son of the first Duke of Guise, who was provided with the Abbey of Saint-Nicaise. The sons of Duke Claude behaved well to that discreditable relation, and they had been accustomed from boyhood to pay honour to Diane of France, the love-daughter of Henry II. Don John of Austria was treated with brotherly tenderness by Philip II. There is not the faintest reason to suppose that even the Duchess Antoinette looked scornfully on this great lord, whose presence may have recalled sad circumstances of her daughter's life in Scotland. The Cardinal of Lorraine could not have adopted the Pharisee's look or tone if he remembered his own little girl, Anne d'Arne, who was growing up at the Court of Spain. Unacknowledged affections were part of the history of great houses, but the Lord James, a man of pure morals and sensitive conscience, must have carried about with him a daily sorrow as he realised that he, who understood most truly the needs of his country, was condemned, by the shadow of his birth, to play the part of a courtier or Churchman, when he

¹ Dr. Hay Fleming, *Mary Queen of Scots*, p. 66.

Advice to Mary

might have reigned as one of Scotland's greatest kings.

To the impartial reader there is, notwithstanding the pietistic phrasing, a note of sincerity in the long Edinburgh letter.

The Lord James mentioned the Queen's wish that ecclesiastics should not be disturbed in their possessions. He replied that the Council and nobility agreed that if the duties of a charge were performed, its temporalities must not be confiscated. But they opposed the granting of such things to persons "whilk notoriusly to the haill people wer knawn unhable for sic chardge als wele for evill example of lyif az doctrin."

These words "az doctrin" must have been read with impatience by the Queen and her circle. Had not she and the Cardinal sought earnestly to turn the Lord James from his religion, recognising his great ability and influence, and seeing in him, next to Knox, the soul of the Scottish revolt from Rome. The Huguenots had never become formidable till the Bourbons and the Châtillons, with their wide family connections, had espoused the Protestant cause. A red hat would have been cheaply granted at the price of James Stuart's submission. But he wrote, after many earnest entreaties: "Abuif all things, madame, for the luif of God preisse na maters of religion not for ony mannis advise on the earth." He recognised that the counsellors of Her Majesty might not approve this policy, "Summ ar moved be hatreyt against the religion the knaw not and farr less knaw in, or regarding what danger may ensew to your hyghnes' affayres thairthorogt." ¹

¹ This was probably a reference to the Cardinal of Lorraine, who had never been in Scotland. All Mary's other immediate coun-

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In sarcastic sentences the Lord James passed in review the Catholic lords and gentlemen adventurers who had suffered deprivation by the changes in Scotland. Though he mentioned no names, some ears in the Queen's audience-room must have tingled. At whom was he glancing when he denounced "ane tasse of idill vagabonds and ignorants whais good qualiteis wes never hable to obteyn thame lyiffs in ony quyett commoun wele" ?¹

It cannot be denied that a strongly ambitious vein is recognisable in the Lord James's letter. He must have heard in France continual talk of a great continental alliance for his sister, and he probably considered her early return to Scotland as at the best uncertain. He had come under the spell of a magician—the Cardinal of Lorraine; and as they paced the terrace of Joinville before supper on April evenings, he may have seen the map of Europe unrolled in colours brighter than those of sunset on the fields of Champagne. With his sister reigning in Madrid, or possibly again in Paris, he might be her vicegerent in Scotland, with full acquiescence of the Catholic powers, if he would return to the old religion. It was impossible that the Cardinal should not fancy that the interests of a Commendator of St. Andrews were closely allied to his own. His brother Louis was Abbot of Kelso; the three may have talked confidentially as brethren. Charles knew in France only one ecclesiastic of his own rank who had embraced the Huguenot doctrines, the Cardinal Odet de Châtillon, whose domestic circumstances partially

sellors, with the exception of the Duke of Guise, had visited that country.

¹ See Philippon, vol. iii. p. 442.

The Visit to Nancy

supplied, to Catholic minds, the reasons for his action.

Queen Mary had the wisdom to accept her brother's reiterated counsel that she should not "mell with materis of religion at this tym." It was not through religious bigotry that her life was wrecked.

After a brief stay at Joinville, whither she had proceeded from Saint-Dizier,¹ the Queen travelled to Nancy on a visit to the Duke and Duchess of Lorraine, whose guest she had been in happier days at Bar-le-Duc. Details of the journey are supplied by Lesley. Mary was accompanied by the Cardinals of Lorraine and Guise, and the Duke of Aumale. The Duke of Lorraine and his mother, Christina of Denmark, met her on the frontier, and at Nancy the fifteen-year-old Duchess Claude welcomed once more her play-fellow of Saint-Germain and Fontainebleau. The youthful host and hostess did their utmost to chase away the shadows which still hung over Mary's spirit, arranging outdoor and indoor entertainments "sum tymes in hunting on the feildis and uthur quhills seing and behalding plesant farces and playes, and using all kinde of honorabill pastymes within the palice." ²

The Queen's health had, however, received a severe shock, and a breakdown was to be expected. Throckmorton, in his zeal for the interests of his own sovereign, would not allow Mary even a few weeks of rest. His own health was not yet re-established, and

¹ Saint-Dizier, Wassy, and Joinville are within easy distance of each other. The writer, when calling recently at the Protestant Church of Wassy in hope of obtaining local information about the Reformed community, saw a notice stating that the pastor lived at Saint-Dizier.

² Lesley's *History*, p. 295.

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his presence would scarcely have been tolerated in the Court of Lorraine. He sent Mr. Somer to Nancy, charged to secure if possible the ratification of the Treaty of Edinburgh. Mr. Somer returned on April 28¹ with his commission unfulfilled. He had been assured that the Queen of Scotland expected to arrive on May 8 at Rheims, where the coronation of Charles ix. was to take place on May 15. A definite answer was promised for that date.

The Queen's illness, however, made it impossible for her to attend the coronation ceremonies. A tertian fever attacked her at Nancy, induced, perhaps, by exposure and over-exertion in the hunting-field. The quiet of Joinville, as her friends must have realised, was likely to prove more beneficial to the invalid than the gay court life at Nancy, and to Joinville she was removed by easy stages under the care of her grandmother, Antoinette, Duchess Dowager of Guise.

From hour to hour, Queen Elizabeth's Ambassador busied himself with two concerns—the Treaty of Edinburgh and Mary's marriage. On April 24 he discussed the latter question in a private interview with Coligny. The Admiral assured him that the alliance with the Prince of Spain was very likely to take place, and that Philip II. "had an eye to England." "It would be better for him to marry in sundry other places, both for alliance and commodity than there, if he sought nothing else but the realm of Scotland. As that marriage might bring great danger to religion and to England, so it would be dangerous for France, and the more so if both England and Scotland fell into the hands of the King of Spain." ² Throckmorton

¹ *Foreign Calendar*, "Elizabeth," vol. iv. p. 89.

² *Ibid.* vol. x. pp. 82, 83.

Talk of a Spanish Marriage

replied that he could not believe either that the King of Spain would derive any advantage from such a union, or that the Queen's uncles would permit her to do an act so damaging to their sovereign, "for the King would hereafter repute them his enemies, and withhold from her all the dowry she had in France."

CHAPTER XXI

AT JOINVILLE, THE HOME OF THE GUISES

Surroundings of Joinville—The town as it was in Queen Mary's time—Relics of the Guises in the hospital, the cemetery, and the Hôtel de Ville—The Château du Grand Jardin—The legend of its building—Mottoes inscribed upon it—Description of the house and grounds—The "Sepulchre" in the parish church—Queen Mary and her grandmother—Quiet weeks at Joinville—Mary's return to Paris—Throckmorton's importunities.

THE train from Bar-le-Duc passes through a fertile, well-wooded country, with many sparkling streams and closely planted villages. There are few more picturesquely situated towns in Eastern France than Joinville, which lies on a branch of the Marne, in a valley overshadowed by undulating tree-clad heights, on one of which, until near the end of the eighteenth century, stood the castle of the Guises. When Queen Mary arrived with her grandmother, the beauty of early summer must have been unfolding itself in the deep glens and along the hedgerows. The woods of Joinville to-day are full of singing birds. Every variety of foliage clothes the deep ravines. The high road leading towards Wassy is fringed with innumerable small, well-kept gardens, and the air, on May evenings, is not only light and bracing, but sweet with the scent of flowers. The little town must have changed very much in appearance since the sixteenth century. It once possessed a wall and

Joinville in Mary's Time

three gates, and an old map in the Hôtel de Ville shows more than a dozen spires. Joinville, as we have seen, was made a principality by Henry II. It acquired great importance under the first Dukes of Guise, who used it as their habitual country residence, and entertained royal personages in the Castle with regal magnificence. That proud Castle was allowed to fall into ruins during the eighteenth century. Its last possessor, Louis-Philippe-Joseph, Duc d'Orléans, sold the worn masonry in 1791 to MM. Berger and Passerat, who carried out its demolition.¹ The Collegiate Church, which once served as the private chapel of the Dukes, and was enriched with relics from the Sainte Chapelle in Paris, perished with the Castle.

The hospital, which when seen from the hill looks, as M. Fériel says, like an immense grey coffin, bears the date 1567, and was given by the Cardinal of Lorraine and his mother. It is a plain substantial house, to which additions have been made in modern times. One of the Sisters conducts the visitor to the "Chambre des Princes," which contains the chief existing relics from the old Castle. Here are full-length portraits of the Dukes Claude, Francis, and Henry of Guise, with a painting of the Cardinal Charles seated in an arm-chair in his robes of scarlet and lace, holding a heavily bound and clasped volume, with a skull and a crucifix on the table beside him. Though these are all *portraits de galerie*, which date from the seventeenth century, they have a peculiar interest from the fact that they hung for long years in the Castle on the hill, and must have been accepted by the later Guises as lifelike portraits of the great men of their house. Other relics are the iron charter-

¹ René de Bouillé, *Histoire des Ducs de Guise*, vol. i. pp. 229, 230.

Joinville, the Home of the Guises

chest of the Dukes, and the golden reredos from the altar of Saint-Laurent, with several pieces of furniture. Looking down from the wooden gallery of the hospital at the garden courtyard where convalescents are enjoying the morning sun, we realise something of that extensive and liberal-handed charity by which the Guises won popularity in their own district.

The cemetery is close to the hospital, and here, under a black marble table, lie the scattered remains of the old seigneurs, whose bones were torn from their graves in 1792. It is believed that this table formed originally part of the splendid mausoleum erected by Antoinette de Bourbon for her husband and herself. Two statues, which according to tradition also belonged to the tomb, are shown in the Hôtel de Ville, and two other striking emblematic figures which once adorned it are now in the Louvre.¹

M. Fériel mentions that the cemetery once bore the inscription, "C'est ici le lieu de repos," but that in his time all had been effaced save the simple and sufficient "C'est ici."

The picturesque quays near the church, where the grass-impeded Marne runs between rows of tall, irregularly built houses, cannot have altered greatly since Queen Mary's time. In unexpected corners we find whitewashed houses adorned with old and costly sculptor's work, with carved pillars, and scrolls of vine leaves surrounding the porch. One such

¹ Students of the history of Joinville will find much help from the rare work by Jules Fériel, *Notes historiques sur la Ville et les Seigneurs de Joinville* (1835). A copy was lent to the writer by M. Émile Humblot, of Joinville, one of the most learned antiquaries in the district, whose own pamphlets, *Le Château du Grand Jardin* and *Le Sépulcre de Joinville*, are indispensable aids to students of Guise history.

“Le Château du Grand Jardin”

house is passed on the left, as we climb the castle hill.¹

Time's revenges have been gently taken at Joinville. The mouldering fragments that, as some antiquaries suppose, mark the site of the tennis court, may be missed by all but careful searchers. The slopes are now clothed with vineyards, small fields, and gardens, and there is everywhere a wealth of flowers.

From the top of the hill we have a view over miles of country. Roads are seen leading to brown-roofed villages in the distance, while others lose themselves mysteriously among the woods. Along one of these roads on a March Sunday of 1562 rode the murderers of Wassy. Thinking of the glory of the Guises for eighty years, and of the early and utter extinction of their greatness, we may wish that they had taken as their own the motto of the town of Joinville, “*Omnia tuta time.*”²

Though the Castle, the fortified gates, and the many spires are gone, there is one building in Joinville which remains very much as it was at the time of Queen Mary's visit. This is the “Château du Grand Jardin,” which was erected in 1546 by the first Duke of Guise as a pleasure-house for himself and his wife Antoinette. It is close to the modern railway station, hidden behind trees, and is approached by an avenue of chestnuts and a meadow bordered by tall elms. This wooded space, which is now divided by the road from the grounds of the Château, may once

¹ René de Bouillé, whose work on the Dukes of Guise was published nearly sixty years ago, says that a vinedresser's poor hut then marked the site of the Castle on the summit of the hill that overlooks the town. Such a hut is on the hill to-day. There are fragments of the old masonry of the Castle, half buried among grass and flowers.

² “Beware when all things are safe.”

Joinville, the Home of the Guises

have belonged to the Duke's private park. Inside the grounds there are more trees, and carefully-trimmed garden-beds.

According to tradition, Duke Claude, who had grown weary of the society of his grave and virtuous wife, fell in love with a beautiful village girl, and often rode aside, on his return from hunting-parties, to seek rest and amusement in her cottage. Antoinette de Bourbon heard of her lord's infatuation, and prepared for him a loyal revenge. On entering the peasant home one day, the Duke was amazed to find it decorated as sumptuously as the Castle on the hill, and to see his lovely favourite robed as a duchess. He was so deeply touched, as the story goes, by his wife's generosity, that he ordered a little castle to be built close to the hut of "la Viergeotte," and on its walls, along with the monograms of Claude and Antoinette, he caused these mottoes to be inscribed: "Toutes pour une," "Là et non plus."¹

Le Grand Jardin is now in private ownership,

¹ René de Bouillé assigns this love affair to the early days of the Duke (vol. i. p. 230), but the Château dates from 1546, four years before his death. The story rests chiefly on the doubtful testimony of the Guise historians, Fornier and Oudin.

M. Humblot, in his learned and beautifully illustrated pamphlet on *Le Grand Jardin* (Joinville, 1906), mentions that some have supposed that the Duke's real reason for building the Château was not repentance and a desire to honour his generous wife, but a wish to give his mistress a dwelling more worthy of her than the hut of "la Viergeotte." He adds: "For the credit of the proud and upright Duke who founded the House of Guise, who was honoured with the King's friendship and held the high post of Governor of Champagne, we prefer to keep to the story of the renunciation and the triumph of virtue in this contest between love and duty" (p. 8).

The motto, "Toutes pour une" was changed, M. Humblot reminds us, from that of Claude's father, the Duke René II. of Lorraine, "Une pour toutes." The device of the hand grasping a sword also belonged to him.

Story of the Château

but visitors are courteously permitted to study the ancient armorial bearings, monograms, and mottoes which still cover the walls. The restorer's hand has been busied with the grey stones without and within. Nothing of real importance, fortunately, has been tampered with, and the blue carpet of forget-me-nots on the lawn at the foot of the stately Renaissance staircase has been spread like dreams under the feet of the historical student. Beneath the fir-trees, on the garden-walks, and in the chapel, a voice seems to be whispering—

“Tread softly, because you tread on my dreams.”

Possibly the Duke had been inspired by the sight of Italian architects working at Chambord and Blois, restoring Villers-Cotterets, and perhaps building Anet. He wished, as M. Humblot says, to erect in the valley of Joinville a house in the style of the period, warmer, brighter, homelier than his feudal Castle. A manuscript history of Joinville, dating from 1632, praises the garden, the orchard, the spacious buildings, the windows with their armorial traceries, the fountains, rockeries, and fish-ponds.

Henry of Guise wrote in 1575 to his wife, Catherine de Clèves: “Stay at the Grand Jardin. Have my workroom arranged there just as it was when I left.” From the possession of the Guises the house passed to that of the Orleans princes, and in 1791 it was sold, one room only being reserved for the preservation of its ancient archives.¹ We may be fairly certain that Queen Mary spent some time during her convalescence at Joinville in “La Maison de l'Amour Repenti.”

Another very interesting sixteenth-century monu-

¹ René de Bouillé, vol. i. p. 231. Émile Humblot, p. 14.

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ment in Joinville is the so-called "Sépulcre" at the west end of the parish church, in which we see apostles and holy women standing about the bier of the dead Saviour. It is the work of an unknown sculptor, and has been erroneously attributed to Ligier-Richier.¹ There appears to be no doubt that this marvellous group of statuary was given about 1567 by Antoinette de Bourbon to the Priory Church of the Cordeliers near Joinville, whence it was removed to the present Church of Notre Dame. The Priory was a very ancient building on a hill, and was dependent on the Abbey of Saint-Urbain. It was destroyed in 1795.

M. Humblot quotes many authorities to prove that the Duchess Dowager did not cause the monument to be constructed for the Cordeliers, but that the monks asked her to assign to them a work of art which was already one of the glories of the district. They took possession of the Priory in 1567. "A careful reading of all these texts," writes M. Humblot, "allows us to suppose that the 'Sepulchre' was not executed for the Cordeliers, and that, when they took possession of the old Priory, they requested that they might give shelter within their walls to that marvel of art which, for several years, had been kept in some other part of the town." We may suppose, therefore, that this masterpiece of religious thought and feeling, with the richly-robed women, and the noble figures of St. John and St. Joseph of Arimathea, was at Joinville in the year of Queen Mary's visit. All the beauty of Renaissance costume, jewellery, and hair ornament is displayed in the statue of Mary Magdalene, yet her

¹ M. Humblot, in the *Étude sur le Sépulcre de Joinville* (p. 23), corrects this error.

Mary and her Grandmother

face, bent downwards towards the bier, is as deeply marked with sorrow as that of the Virgin Mary, Veronica, and the mother of James. If it was under the personal supervision of the Duchess Antoinette that this work was designed and executed, her piety cannot have been altogether morose and gloomy. The robes of her own widowhood were of coarse serge, yet her Mary and her Veronica were like gentlewomen of the Court of Francis I. or Henry II.

Students of Guise history must smile at Miss Strickland's mention of "the melancholy castle of Joinville." The Guises were not a melancholy family, and grandchildren were left by tender mothers in the charge of the Dowager Duchess. Her letters to her daughters-in-law, the Duchess of Guise and the Duchess of Aumale, prove that "Madame Guise Mère" was not only one of the most religious, but one of the most tender-hearted women of her time. For every little illness, real or fancied, her counsel was ready. The babies took their airings under her watchful eyes. "Our grandson," she wrote, "is very well and very plump and healthy, and if he goes on as he is doing he will soon be able to run alone."¹

Chantonay wrote, after the death of Francis II., that Queen Mary and her grandmother occupied the same room at Orleans.² During the forty days of mourning, the loving care of one who had nursed upon her knees so many sons and daughters must have

¹ Letter of the Dowager Duchess Antoinette to the Duchess of Guise. The baby to whom she refers in an autograph postscript message to the Duchess of Valentinois was a son of the Duke of Aumale and his wife, the daughter of Diane de Poitiers ("Le Marquis de Pimodan," *La Mère des Guises*, p. 294).

² Letter of December 28, 1560, quoted by A. de Ruble, *Antoine de Bourbon et Jeanne d'Albret*, vol. iii. p. 107. The original is in the Archives Nationales.

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soothed the orphaned and widowed girl. At Joinville, amid flowers and fresh spring foliage, in a stillness undisturbed by political messages or the summons to exciting amusements, Mary regained her strength; though her recovery was too slow to permit of her attending the Coronation of Charles ix. at Rheims. Thirteen years later, when preaching the young King's funeral sermon at Rheims from the Psalm "*Sæpe expugnaverunt*" ("Many a time have they fought against me from my youth up, may Israel now say"), the Cardinal of Lorraine mentioned that at the Coronation the child had complained that the crown was too heavy for him. Did the Duchess Antoinette, watching the languid, graceful figure of her eldest granddaughter reclining on warm evenings on the terrace at Joinville, ask whether Scotland's crown might prove too heavy for the young brow? For Mary, under the shelter of royal palaces, life had been, and must continue to be, a warfare and a mere pilgrimage, nor was she ever to experience those sure, abiding home affections which consoled the Duchess Antoinette amidst her terrible bereavements.

That text from the 45th Psalm which greeted Elizabeth of Valois when she entered Spain as the bride of Philip II. may have been present to the mind of Antoinette as she thought of the great alliances proposed for Queen Mary: "*Hearken, O daughter, and consider, incline thine ear; forget also thine own people and thy father's house.*" The French, we are told, disliked the parading of these words at Guadalaxara, but through the private history of royal ladies in that age the words run like a mournful refrain, "*Audi filia et vide.*" The most unpromising personal alliances were sought and accepted on

“Ratify the Treaty”

political grounds, and the correspondence of such mothers as Catherine de' Medici and Antoinette de Bourbon reveals the mingling ambition and fear for their loved ones.

Throckmorton had sent Mr. Somer to Nancy, and also to Rheims at the time of the Coronation, but had failed to obtain any satisfactory answer about the Treaty of Edinburgh. At Nancy the Queen postponed her reply until her expected visit to Rheims ; at Rheims the Cardinal of Lorraine declared that his niece was sick at Joinville, and that he meddled no more in her matters. He added that she was going shortly to Villers-Cotterets, where the Ambassador might speak with her.

On June 10, the Queen arrived in Paris, and the weary badgering by Throckmorton was resumed. Historians have quoted at length her stately and composed answers to his entreaties. At the interview on June 18, “she respited the resolute answer until she had the advice of the Estates and nobles of her own realm, whither she intended to make her own voyage very shortly. Though the matter touched her principally, it also touched them, and they would be most offended if she proceeded without their advice.”¹

In this interview Mary informed the Ambassador of her intention to embark at Calais, and of her desire to receive from “her good sister those favours that Princes use to do in such cases.”

Throckmorton, aching with home-sickness, urged the plea on which his own release depended, “Ratify the Treaty.” The Queen, lately risen from a sick-bed, and by her own admission not yet fully recovered,

¹ *Foreign Calendar*, “Elizabeth,” vol. iv. pp. 150, 151.

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diverted the talk with great skill to a discussion on religious differences.

It was in the course of this conversation that she uttered her well-known confession of personal belief :—

“ I will be plain with you, and tell you what I would all the world should think of me. The religion that I profess I take to be most acceptable to God, and indeed neither do I know, nor desire to know, any other. Constancy doth become all folks well, but none better than Princes and such as have rule over realms, and especially in the matter of religion. I have been brought up in this religion, and who might credit me in anything if I should show myself light in this case ? And though I am young and not greatly learned, yet I have heard this matter disputed of by my uncle, my Lord Cardinal, with some that thought they could say somewhat in the matter,¹ and I found therein no great reason to change my opinion.”

Throckmorton sought to shake her firmness by quoting the Cardinal's own words to himself, admitting that there were great errors and abuses in the Church and “ great disorders in the ministers and clergy, insomuch as he desired that there might be a reformation of both.” The Queen calmly replied that she had often heard him say the like. “ She was none of those who would change their religion every year.” Mary promised tolerance to her subjects and demanded it for herself.

On June 19, Chantonay, writing to Philip II.,

¹ This remark seems to imply that the Queen had listened, while at Rheims for Easter, to discussions between her uncle and the Protestant ministers who were received about this time at the Palace in a kind of informal prelude to the Colloquy of Poissy.

A Profession of Faith

mentioned Throckmorton's visit to the Queen of Scotland,¹ and said he had begged her to accept the new religion, adding that she would be the only adherent of the old faith in her kingdom, and quoting the Cardinal as in his secret heart a favourer of the Reformed doctrines. Mary, according to Chantonay, replied that she would rather be the sole Catholic in Scotland than consent to become a Protestant. As for the Cardinal, she ought to know his views, as she had often heard him preach in public, and clearly understood his meaning.

Had the spirit of her great-grandmother, Philippa of Lorraine, repeated the message of Pont-à-Mousson to the Queen as she knelt in the Church of Saint-Laurent at Joinville : " Yield nothing of the glory of God " ?

¹ Teulet, *Papiers d'État*, vol. ii. pp. 3, 4.

CHAPTER XXII

FAREWELL TO FRANCE

Queen Elizabeth refuses a passport to the Queen of Scots—The courtesy of nations in this matter—The trials of sixteenth-century sea-travel—Elizabeth defends her action—Throckmorton's views—His interview with Mary on July 20—Mary's dignity and prudence—Opinions of the French Court on Elizabeth's action—Mary's last weeks in France—The state of France in August 1561—Preparations for the Colloquy of Poissy—The Queen's farewells—Incidents of her journey to Calais—Illness of her uncles—Her meeting with Throckmorton at Abbeville—Her departure from France—Those left behind.

AT the end of June M. d'Oysel was sent to England with instructions to ask a passport for Queen Mary, with permission (1) to buy provisions and other necessaries in any English port at which she might touch, and (2) to proceed by land, if this course were preferred, through Elizabeth's territories, to Scotland.¹

On May 23, Charles ix. had already written to the Bishop of Limoges that he was sending M. Lhuillier to Philip II. with a special commission to obtain a permit for his sister-in-law to land and refresh herself in Spanish territory.²

¹ *Foreign Calendar*, "Elizabeth," vol. iv. p. 173.

² *Négociations sous François II.*, p. 867. This passage in the child King's long letter is worth quoting :—

"L'une des principales occasions pourquoy je l'envoye devers vous est pour le passaige de la royne ma belle-seur, laquelle estant appellée par tous ses subjects, et contrainte, si elle ne veult perdre

Sea-Travel in the Sixteenth Century

Such passports were granted by the ordinary rules of diplomatic courtesy whenever a royal personage set out on a sea journey. A refusal was almost tantamount to a declaration of hostilities. Queen Mary's mother had asked and obtained a permit from Edward VI. for her journey to France in 1550. With all the comforts that could be provided, sea-voyages were a trying experience in the sixteenth century, and there was always a possibility that storms or sickness might make it necessary to land the passengers on unexpected shores. The traveller who set out from Calais or Antwerp for a few days on board ship conjured up in imagination half the adventures of Sinbad's voyages. The terrors of seasickness may be guessed from that pitiful letter written by the Cardinal of Lorraine to his brother Francis in October 1555, when he was on his way to Italy.¹ He had been forced to turn back by storms. "I felt so ill," he wrote, "that I thought I was going to die. The Cardinal de Tournon urged upon me so strongly that the King's business would be ruined, and his interests left all in disarray and disorder if I did not continue my journey, that at last I gave in to his persuasions and decided to go on to Rome. Not by sea, however, for I could never endure it, and I shall never take a sea-voyage again except in case of extreme necessity. I shall go by land with those of my people who are most necessary to me, and I shall proceed to Switzerland and thence to

son royaume, d'y aller de bref, elle m'a prié de faire faire ung honneste office envers le roy mon bon frère, à ce qu'il escrive à ses costes qu'ils ayent à luy donner tout l'ayde et faveur qu'ils pourront pour sa navigation, si de fortune la mer la contraingnoit d'y relascher et prendre port, ce que j'estime qu'il ne voudra reffuser."

¹ *Mémoires-Journaux du Duc de Guise*, p. 250.

Farewell to France

Ferrara. I hope to reach Rome about the 20th of next month.”¹

The Duke of Guise replied in a soothing and sympathetic letter. “Your health and the safety of your person are dearer to me than any rapid travelling you might have accomplished.”

M. d'Oysel had provided himself with a recommendation from Throckmorton, and appears to have made friends amongst the English. His conduct of the difficult negotiations about the passport hardly justifies the confidence reposed in him by Mary of Lorraine. Elizabeth asked whether he had any answer concerning the ratification of the Treaty. He replied that he had nothing to say. Elizabeth asked for delay, and in a later audience informed him that she must refuse to grant a passport while the Treaty remained unratified. If this promise were fulfilled, she would be glad to welcome Mary to England “and to have such acquaintance with her as might make an end of all controversies.”²

Elizabeth wrote in explanation of her action to Charles ix., the Queen Mother, and Queen Mary, endeavouring to soften the blow by protestations of general friendship.

“She means so to the Scottish Queen as the world shall perceive that in kindness, honour, and friendship she shall not overcome her, and on the other part, she means not to yield.” Elizabeth’s advisers knew that her action would amaze even French statesmen who were no friends of Mary, and she

¹ The Cardinal visited Italy twice again after this uncomfortable journey—for the Council of Trent (1562-63) and in the St. Bartholomew year (1572).

² *Foreign Calendar*, “Elizabeth,” vol. iv. p. 177.

Refusal of the Passport

asked Throckmorton to explain matters to the Constable and the King of Navarre.

It had been decided before the middle of July that Mary should be accompanied to Scotland by the Duke of Longueville, by Damville (second son of the Constable), and by three of her uncles, the Duke of Aumale, the Grand Prior, and the Marquis d'Elbœuf. Four galleys and twelve other French and Scottish ships were to form her escort.

Conjectures as to the Queen's possible action on her arrival in Edinburgh filled up the interval of waiting, and the Earl of Bothwell, who on July 5 "arrived in post," may have exchanged confidences with Throckmorton.

The English Ambassador understood on July 13, "that the Queen of Scotland is thoroughly persuaded that the most dangerous man in all the realm is Knox, and is therefore fully determined to use all means to banish him thence, or else to assure them that she will never dwell in that country as long as he is there."

To make Knox more odious to Queen Elizabeth, Mary had thought of sending to her rival Knox's book "against the Government of Women." Throckmorton sought to smooth matters for Knox by assuring his royal mistress that the Reformer was "as much for her purpose as any man of all that nation; and that his doing therein and his zeal sufficiently recompense his fault in writing that book, and therefore he is not to be driven out of that realm."¹

Throckmorton, as is evident from his letter of July 13 to Elizabeth, did not expect that his sovereign would take the extreme step of refusing a safe-conduct

¹ *Foreign Calendar*, "Elizabeth," vol. iv. p. 180.

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to her royal sister. Mary had asked him earlier in the month whether he had news for her from England, and hearing that no promise had come, "she prayed him, as soon as he had word of it, to advertise her, and said that her going would be about the beginning of August." Throckmorton added: "By this it appears that she is very desirous of the said safe-conduct, and in case it has not been already delivered to M. de la Haye to bring to her, he thought it would be more pertinent to send it to him to deliver into her hands." ¹

Anxiety had brought on a slight return of the tertian fever from which Mary had suffered at Nancy. Throckmorton observed that "it had somewhat appaired her cheer, though she makes no great matter of it, the worst being past."

To Cecil, on the same day, the Ambassador wrote, advising that the safe-conduct should be placed in his hands for delivery, "as thereby he might see her acceptation thereof, and also have occasion to see the state of her health, which presently is casual." ²

In Throckmorton's letter of July 13 reference was made to the approaching visit of the Queen of Scotland to Fécamp, for the funeral service of her mother, Mary of Lorraine.³

In her answer to M. d'Oysel, Queen Elizabeth required the ratification of the Treaty of Edinburgh as the condition of favours from England. If this formality were completed, the way was open for a safe passage for Mary through England to her own dominions, and a meeting between the royal ladies "for a corroboration and perfection of their amity." ⁴

¹ *Foreign Calendar*, "Elizabeth," vol. iv. p. 180.

² *Ibid.* p. 181.

³ *Ibid.* p. 179.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 187.

Mary's Dignified Attitude

On July 20, Throckmorton had an interview with Mary, whose plans for travel had been sadly disconcerted by the bad tidings brought by M. d'Oysel, with whom she was talking when he entered her audience-chamber. Throckmorton, who understood so perfectly the art and science of diplomacy, must have realised the awkwardness of his position, especially when the young widow invited him to a seat by her side and bade all the attendants withdraw. With noble dignity Mary controlled the bitter feelings which had been roused by M. d'Oysel's recital, saying that "she knew not well her own infirmity, nor how far she might with her passion be transported; but she liked not to have so many witnesses of her passions as his mistress had when she talked with M. d'Oysel. Nothing grieved her more than that she had so forgotten herself as to require of his mistress that favour which she needed not ask. She might pass well enough home to her own realm without the Queen's passport or licence, for though King Henry used all the impeachment he could to stay her and catch her when she came hither, yet she came safely; and she might have as good means to help her home if she would employ her friends."

The wisest ruler could not have shown more dignity and more discretion than Mary showed in this painful interview. The insult offered her by Elizabeth was against the comity of nations, but not a word of personal resentment, not a threat that was not carefully veiled, passed her lips. Her position was one of anxiety and even peril, for the hopes of her "disobedient subjects" were fixed on Elizabeth, and the English Queen, as Mary said with melancholy emphasis, believed her to be a woman without friends. She threw herself, in her widowed state, upon Eliza-

Farewell to France

beth's kindness, forgetting perhaps, for the moment, the offence that had been given by the continual quartering of the arms of England with those of Scotland and France during her husband's lifetime.

"The Queen says that she is young and lacks experience, yet she has age enough and experience to use herself towards her friends and kinsfolk friendly and uprightly ; and trusts that her discretion will not so fail her that her passion shall move her to use other language of her than becomes a Queen and her next kinswoman. She further said that she was allied and friended as she was, and that her heart was not inferior to hers, so as an equal respect might be had on both parts. She also told him that the accord was made in her husband's time, by whom she was governed, and for the delays used then she was not to be charged ; and since his death, her interest failing in the realm of France, she left to be advised by the Council of France, and they left her also to her own counsel. Her uncles, being of the affairs of that realm, did not think meet to advise her ; neither do her subjects think that she should be advised other than by the Council of her own realm ; and as the matter touches them as well as her by the wisest of them, and she had often told him, she said that as soon as she had their advices, she would send reasonable answer." ¹

Mary complained, with justice, that her plan for consulting her Scottish Council with regard to the ratification had been frustrated by the refusal of the passport. Keen displeasure possessed her mind that the prohibition should have extended not only to herself but to her representative, M. d'Oysel, whose

¹ *Foreign Calendar*, "Elizabeth," vol. iv. pp. 200, 201.

Interview with Throckmorton

return to Scotland had been hindered, though he had the assurance that his communications would be forwarded. She dwelt on Elizabeth's patronising reference to her youth. "She might as well say that she was as foolish as young, if in the State and country she was in she proceeded in such a matter without counsel. That which was done by her late husband must not be taken to be her act, so that neither in honour or conscience was she bound to perform all that he commanded. She never meant more harm to the Queen of England than to herself."¹

The interview proceeded amidst many repetitions, Throckmorton reiterating his demand for ratification and declining to accept excuses, Mary falling back on "the nobles and Estates of her realm," whose loyalty, the Ambassador may have reflected, was none of the surest; and as regards earlier causes of offence, sheltering herself behind her dead father-in-law and dead husband. To us who read dispassionately the official account of the conversation, the intellectual readiness of the eighteen-year-old Queen is the more remarkable when we remember that she was alone with Throckmorton, that there was no Cardinal or Constable behind her chair to prompt her replies as they had prompted her husband's. She was a match for the shrewdest of European diplomatists, having profited, no doubt, by lessons taught her at Rheims, Nancy, and Joinville, and having inherited the great mental quickness of her mother's family.

On the following day (July 21) Throckmorton saw Charles ix. and Catherine de' Medici, to whom he explained his mistress's reasons for the denial of the safe-conduct. The Regent spoke out boldly in the

¹ *Foreign Calendar*, "Elizabeth," vol. iv. p. 201.

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interests of her daughter-in-law, every word she uttered being prompted, perhaps, less by kindness for Mary and a desire to avert war, than by her wish to send the royal widow out of France. Catherine upheld Mary in her decision to defer the ratification of the Treaty until after her return to Scotland, and requested that Elizabeth would accept the excuse and "accommodate her with such favour as she demanded."

The question of immediate importance, after the receipt of Elizabeth's message, was whether the Queen of Scotland would or would not venture to pursue her journey. So impatient was Throckmorton to learn her decision that he proceeded on the same day to take his leave, expressing regret that as she had failed to satisfy his Sovereign, he could not conveniently wait on her to her embarking.¹ Mary answered that if her preparations had not been so far advanced, his mistress's unkindness might have stayed her voyage, "but now she was determined to adventure the matter whatsoever came of it. She trusted that the wind would be so favourable that she need not come on the coast of England; and if she did, then the Queen, his mistress, would have her in her hands to do her will of her; and if she was so hard-hearted as to desire her end, she might then do her pleasure and make sacrifice of her."

With a sad prophetic impulse, the Queen added, "Peradventure that casualty might be better for me than to live; in this matter God's will be done."

Throckmorton, the hater of the Guises, the shrewd cold critic of Mary's actions, has left testimonies as to her words and doings which are worth more than all the evidence of her panegyrists. He knew how to

¹ *Foreign Calendar*, "Elizabeth," vol. iv. p. 203.

Mary's Diplomatic Skill

reproduce, with photographic clearness, the personalities of Kings, Queens, and Princes, and remembering how he met the solemn gaze of the young girl who was devoting herself to death rather than become the vassal of Elizabeth, he allows us to see his own embarrassment even while he falters out once more the phrases of the long contention. Lofty courage and noble purpose must have risen in the Queen's eyes as she spoke her final words: "For her part, she would not take all things at the worst, and hoped that the Queen would do the like, whereof she did not doubt, if ministers did no harm between them. And so the said Queen embraced him." ¹

In her intercourse with the Ambassador of Elizabeth, Mary displayed a royal dignity, a fertility of resource, a womanly candour, which justified the decision of her uncles to leave her to fight out the duel alone. Mary, with the Cardinal of Lorraine behind her throne, was an object of suspicion to Throckmorton, but when they sat side by side in her private audience-room, her beauty and her sweet words gained imperceptibly upon his feelings, and the dispatches of this period testify to his admiration all the more clearly because the language is so carefully guarded. That formal embrace with which the Queen dismissed him gave, perhaps, one of the few sensations of genuine pleasure he had known during his long and perilous residence at the Court of France. That he disapproved of the refusal of the safe-conduct is suggested by his letter to Cecil of July 26 :—

"As he hears of no equipage or force by sea in readiness to impeach the Queen of Scots' passage or

¹ *Foreign Calendar*, "Elizabeth," vol. iv. p. 203.

Farewell to France

make good that which M. d'Oysel reported that she [Elizabeth] said, which was that she would provide to keep her from passing home, he thought it would have been better if no such thing had been said, but passage granted." ¹ The Queen of Scotland, he reported, did not intend to embark till she had watched from Calais the possible preparations of her rival to hinder the voyage.

In a postscript the Ambassador added : " If they mean to catch the Queen of Scots, their ships must search and see all, for she means rather to steal away than to pass with force."

Mary's last weeks in France had not been wholly occupied with diplomatic interviews. Lesley tells of " all kinde of honest recreatione aswell be boittis appoun the ryver of Seane as utherwyis be triumphes and feactis of armes exerced within the abbay of Sanct Germans." ²

When it was known that she was really going, the Regent and her advisers were willing to honour the parting Sovereign, and to forget their own heavy anxieties in a succession of amusements like those of 1549, when tournaments and river pageants had celebrated the entrance of Henry II. into his capital. Charles IX. was lodged in the Faubourg Saint-Germain, because he had not yet made his state entry ; and it is probable that the boating parties of July kept out of sight, on reaches of the Seine beyond the old city.

The country which Mary was leaving was distracted almost to madness by religious divisions. There was an absence, fortunately, at this moment, of overt persecution. The great reign

¹ *Foreign Calendar*, " Elizabeth," vol. iv. p. 206.

² *History*, p. 296.

Preparing for the Colloquy of Poissy

of Francis I. had been disfigured by cruelties so abominable that Pope Paul III. had discountenanced them and appealed for milder treatment of the heretics. Under Henry II. the burnings had continued. When Mary visited Paris for the last time, the scholars of the Roman Catholic and Reformed Churches were preparing to meet in friendly argument at Poissy, and the Cardinal Charles was blamed as the chief promoter of the Colloquy by co-religionists who suspected him of wishing to display in public that eloquence which impressed Beza at Rheims.

A few weeks after the Queen's departure the Cardinal engaged in friendly private talk with Beza before the Regent and her Court, asked courteously about the age and health of Calvin, and quoted a text from the Revelation which confirmed the Reformer's arguments. He begged for free discussion, and promised that Beza would find him not so black as he was painted. The wittiest lady in the royal circle, Madame de Crussol, took the Cardinal's hand at the close of the evening and said with significant emphasis, "You are a good man to-night, but what will you be to-morrow?" Her words reflected the hesitation and mistrust which prevailed in both the great parties, and the failure of the Colloquy of Poissy justified her misgivings. More than twenty years of internecine strife were to elapse before France attained a temporary religious peace, but something had been gained by the mere fact that the sons of Henry II. were not expected in 1561 to feast their eyes upon the agonies of martyrs. The thirteen years of Mary's residence had witnessed the slow beginnings of toleration.

Farewell to France

On July 20, according to Lesley, Mary left Paris, and proceeded to Saint-Germain, accompanied by the King, the Regent, the Duke of Anjou, the King of Navarre, and a splendid retinue of nobles. At Saint-Germain the last farewells were said, "with confirmatione of ane perpetuall frendschipp to stand amangis thame, as it had done betuix thair predecessouris be most ancient bande and leage inviolably observit in all tymes past."¹

On August 3, Mary was reported at Beauvais on her journey towards Calais. She had visited the Constable's house at Merly, eleven leagues from Paris, where the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine had been seized with sudden illness.

The Venetian Ambassador, Surian, gave the date of her departure from Court (Saint-Germain) as July 25.² "The Queen of England," he said, "contrary to expectation and certainly in opposition to the dictates of humanity, had declined to give her a safe-conduct." The essential meanness of Elizabeth's character as displayed in this action was apparent to impartial diplomatists. Surian supposed that Mary would go into Flanders or perhaps into Zeeland by land, and thence embark at a favourable moment, crossing the Straits to her kingdom without touching England. "This refusal of the safe-conduct," he noted, "had caused much dissatisfaction in France. The Spanish Ambassador had told him that it would also displease the King of Spain and that it might induce him to persuade the Queen of Scots to take a step, as regards her marriage, which would vex the Queen of England—namely, to accept for husband

¹ Lesley, *History*, p. 207.

² *Dispatches of Suriano and Barbaro*, op. cit., p. 33.

Final Interview with Throckmorton

either the King of Denmark or the King of Sweden, especially as the ambassadors of the latter had quitted England much dissatisfied. If the forces of the Queen of Scots were to unite with either of these two Kings, she could cause considerable trouble to the Queen of England, who would well deserve it for her inhumanity in refusing to give a passage through her dominions to a woman, a widow, unarmed and almost banished from her own home.”¹

It is significant that Surian did not mention the Prince of Spain as one of the possible alliances which Philip II. might have had in view for Mary. This project had been abandoned for the moment. Surian mentioned the mysterious illness which befell the heads of the house of Guise at the Constable's château. “This had given rise to a great deal of talk at Court, principally on account of a prophecy of Nostradamus referring in some mysterious way to poison. . . . The Cardinal recovered very quickly, but the Duke was still seriously ill, although he was getting better, and it was hoped that he would soon recover. The King of Navarre had been ill, but not seriously.”²

From Abbeville the Queen sent a message to Throckmorton, requesting a final interview. The meeting took place on the evening of August 7. Once more the language of conciliation was used by Mary, and the old arguments were reiterated on both sides. “I assure you,” said the Queen, “whatsoever is thought, there is none of my uncles, nor none other here, that will (I know not for what respect) give me their advice in this matter ; but they do advise me to

¹ *Dispatches of Suriano and Barbaro*, op. cit., pp. 33, 34.

² *Ibid.* p. 34.

Farewell to France

use the counsel of my own subjects. You know I am young and do lack experience to proceed in so great a matter without advice. I do so much know mine own infirmity that I will do nothing (though it be of less weight than this is) without counsel.”¹

On August 8, in the morning after dinner, Throckmorton had another audience, and made a last pathetic effort to overcome her resolution. He felt the sea wind at Abbeville, and longed that some ship might carry him also out of Calais roads. At 5 p.m. he took his leave, and on August 19 he wrote to Elizabeth from Paris that his servant, coming by Calais, had seen “the Queen of Scotland haling out of that haven on the 14th inst. about noon, with two galleys and two great ships.”²

Catherine de’ Medici wrote in an undated letter to her daughter, the Queen of Spain: “She set sail a week ago, and if the winds were favourable, she is in Scotland.”³

The ships sailed northwards under a favouring mist, and the Queen came safely to Leith harbour. She had taken leave, on Calais sands, of the truest and kindest friends that remained to her in the world. Could she have foreseen the future of those left behind, the sea-fog might have appeared sunlight to her in comparison with the black cloud which was gathering over the house of Guise. Three uncles sailed with her—Claude, Duke of Aumale, who was to perish in 1573 during the siege of La Rochelle; Francis, the Grand Prior, who died in 1563 as the

¹ *Foreign Calendar*, “Elizabeth,” vol. iv. pp. 243, 244 note.

² *Ibid.* p. 263. Lesley says there were two galleys and four great ships. *History*, p. 297.

³ *Négociations sous François II.*, p. 873. “Ele s’et enbarquée y l y a heuyt jours, et s’el a heu bon vent, ayle est enn Escose.”

Those Left Behind

result of a chill caught by exposure after the battle of Dreux ; and René, Marquis d'Elbœuf, who died at the age of thirty. Over two of the young uncles who accompanied Mary to Scotland the shadow of an early death was falling. On Calais beach she kissed for the last time the great Duke Francis, then aged forty-one, for whom less than two years of life remained. He died in February 1563, from the wound inflicted by the assassin Poltrot de Méré. The Cardinal Louis of Guise, who accompanied the family party to Calais, was the only one of the six brothers who was destined to complete (though he scarcely passed beyond) his fiftieth year.¹

Schiller in his drama, *Mary Stuart*, commits a strange anachronism when he represents the Cardinal Charles of Lorraine as still alive on the eve of Fotheringay. He was not aware that the prelate died on December 26, 1574, at Avignon, aged forty-nine years and ten months. According to Schiller, the last gleam of comfort that visits Mary in prison is Mortimer's message from the beloved uncle in whom he saw "the model of a royal priest." Mary speaks of him as "the dearly-loved, the noble man who was the guide of my tender youth."² Mortimer replies in a burst of enthusiasm by claiming

¹ The Cardinal Louis was born in 1527 and died in 1578.

² Schiller's presentation of the Cardinal, as he appeared to Catholic eyes (especially outside France), is wonderfully true and lifelike. Mortimer tells how the Scots and French gentlemen at Rome introduced him to the great French Churchman :—

"Sie brachten mich zu eurem edeln Oheim,
Dem Kardinal von Guise.—Welch ein Mann !
Wie sicher, klar und männlich gross !—Wie ganz
Geboren, um die Geister zu regieren !
Das Muster eines königlichen Priesters,
Ein Fürst der Kirche, wie ich keinen sah !"

Farewell to France

the Cardinal as his spiritual father, and Mary answers—

“ You, then, are one amongst the thousand souls
Whom he, with heavenly power of gracious speech,
Like to the glorious Preacher of the Mount,
Has grasped, and led to everlasting peace.”

The Cardinal would have been sixty-two had he lived to the year of Fotheringay, but this “ rock of the Church,” as the royal prisoner calls him in Schiller’s tragedy, had been swept away thirteen years earlier, prematurely worn out in body, and deeply discouraged in spirit by the work of death around him.

Though history must acquit him of any direct complicity in the massacre of St. Bartholomew, he was an accessory after the fact. Joseph-Marie Chénier, in his drama *Charles IX.*, represents him as blessing the swords of the assassins. Historically this is inaccurate, for Charles and his brother Louis went to Rome in 1572 for the election of a Pope. M. Guillemin, in his biography, seeks to remove from the Cardinal all responsibility for the executions. As the dire event was planned and executed within a few hours between Saturday evening and Sunday morning, the King, the Queen Mother, and their immediate advisers must bear the blame. But the Cardinal received the news in Rome with rapturous joy, gave a rich present to the messenger, and celebrated a Mass of thanksgiving. No thought of remorse seems to have troubled him, though his life, from that hour, sank steadily gravewards. The blood-feud of the Guises against Coligny was finished, the death of Duke Francis was avenged. The Duke on his death-bed had been tortured, it is said, with

The Cardinal's Last Days

regrets for the massacre of Wassy. The Cardinal returned to France to deliver before the King a strange, exultant address, in which he compared Charles ix. with King Josiah, who destroyed the idols of the false prophets of the groves. Dom Marlot, who gives the oration in his History of Rheims, says that the Cardinal's apologies for the massacre can be excused only by the excited state of public feeling at the time.¹ The speaker dwelt on the text in Genesis, "Da nobis animas, cætera tolle tibi,"—"Give us the souls, take the rest for thyself." "Give us the souls," he cried, "and first, Sire, give us your own soul. Give it to God and to us, by purity of life, by the avoidance of every vice, by zeal for the pure religion." He pictured a holy and peaceful France, in which the virtues of the monarch should be universally imitated. Then, taking a sterner note, he told how in Josiah's time the Book of Deuteronomy, dusty and mildewed, had been found in the recesses of the Temple, and he read over solemnly the curses which had terrified the youthful Hebrew monarch. This must have been one of the strangest scenes in French history. Charles ix. was already haunted by the visions and shadows which pursued him to his dying hour. Charles of Lorraine was inculcating personal holiness and promising the Divine blessing on a purified Church and State, apparently unconscious of the deep disgrace which the crime of his own political party had brought upon the nation. Outwardly, indeed, all seemed flourishing. Soon after the massacre, Queen Elizabeth became godmother to the daughter of Charles ix., and sent a rich christening gift. William the Silent recognised the guilty

¹ *Histoire de la Ville, Cité et Université de Reims*, vol. iv. pp. 423-34.

Farewell to France

sovereign as the protector of Holland. But the ravens were gathering outside the Louvre, and each dark staircase and echoing corridor was peopled with the spectres of the slain. The King and the Cardinal were soon to follow Coligny.

Queen Mary, though she blamed her uncle for neglect in the administration of her dowry, clung to him with tender love until the end. One of the most touching of her letters is that addressed to the Archbishop of Glasgow and the Cardinal of Lorraine on January 9, 1575,¹ a fortnight after the Cardinal's death. On November 8, the Queen had written to acknowledge a letter received from her uncle on October 24. That letter, she said, had given her more comfort and pleasure than anything that could happen to her except the liberation of her son and herself, because it was a proof that she was not forgotten, as she had feared, by her relatives in France.² She wished that her son could be in the Cardinal's charge, and appealed to him to gather money for her assistance. "My kind uncle," she added, "if I see that you are caring for me, I will bear all things patiently, and will seek to preserve my life, so that I may obey you for all time to come."³

The Cardinal, meanwhile, was in the train of the new King Henry III., who had returned from Poland by way of Italy. He had latterly come much under the influence of the Jesuits, whose founder, Ignatius Loyola, he had known in youth. A strict asceticism marked his closing years. We read of his visiting village churches, standing for hours at the altar to administer the sacrament, walking with head and

¹ Labanoff, *Recueil*, vol. iv. pp. 248-57.

² *Ibid.* p. 232.

³ *Ibid.* p. 234.

Mary's Last Letters to her Uncle

feet bare in penitential processions. His fatal illness was caught at Avignon by exposure to the evening dew while he was leading one of these troops.

On the day of the Cardinal's death (December 26, 1574) Mary wrote to the Archbishop of Glasgow begging that her uncle would oppose the granting of the royal title to her son,¹ and renew the alliance between herself and the King of France. The prisoner's hopes had been raised, though without good reason, by the accession of Henry III. On January 9, she addressed a long letter to the Archbishop and the Cardinal jointly, acknowledging cipher communications of September 30, October 7, and November 11. The political pleadings of this letter are mournful enough, when we remember that the passionate words were falling on a deaf ear. Towards the close the Queen wrote: "All my friends in this country are praying to God for you and are not slackening." Then she repeated her demand for money, and ended with the following sentence: "To sum up, my kind uncle, I beg you to love me, and to command me as if I were your own daughter who loves you as herself."²

The letter closed with a passage intended for the Archbishop of Glasgow, and in a postscript the royal prisoner asked that a golden mirror might be sent her. It was to be a small, dainty looking-glass, which could be hung from the girdle, ornamented with her own monogram and that of Elizabeth, and with an appropriate motto which her uncle was to suggest. The Queen did not know that the busy brain which had been planning and contriving for her from childhood

¹ Labanoff, *Recueil*, vol. iv. p. 243.

² *Ibid.* p. 255.

Farewell to France

in great things and small was now at rest for ever, and that the Cardinal's funeral procession was already on its way to Rheims.

With characteristic attention to detail, the statesman who could draw up on one day the articles of a European treaty and on another the items of a niece's trousseau had left directions in his will for the conveyance of his body to his Cathedral city, in the event of his dying away from home. The coffin was to be covered with black cloth for the road journeys, but a pall of black velvet, crossed with white satin, was to be thrown over it on the entry into towns and villages. He had chosen two texts for the stately canopied tomb he erected for himself in Rheims Cathedral: "I believed that Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God, who didst come into the world," and "I wait till my change come."¹

"I am a prisoner," wrote Mary to Beaton on February 20, 1575, after hearing the sad news, "and God takes away the being that I loved the best. What shall I say more? He has taken from me, at one stroke, my father and my uncle. I shall follow him, when God wills, with the less regret."²

On January 27, the Bishop of Verdun and other prelates had received the Cardinal's body on its entry into Rheims, and it was borne through the city amid the blaze of fifteen hundred torches.

Brantôme, who loved the soldier Guises, and whose

¹ "Ego credidi quia tu es Christus, filius Dei vivi, qui in hunc mundum venisti"; "Expecto donec veniat immutatio mea." The tomb was destroyed in 1741, but these texts may still be read on a slab on the floor behind the "Cardinal's altar." When the writer last visited Rheims, this stone was hidden by the decorative framework prepared for the Fête-Dieu.

² Labanoff, *Recueil*, vol. iv. p. 267.

The Deaths of Great Captains

heart overflows with tenderness as he attempts to pay his tribute to Queen Mary's sailor-uncle, the Grand Prior, must, we think, have had the Princes of Lorraine in his mind by contrast when he pitied the many great captains who survived into a feeble old age. "It is a sad thing," he writes, "when these great captains grow old and die. I compare them with the fine ears of wheat, which when they are green and vigorous in their growth during the bright month of May, shoot high in their pride, and lift their lofty crests. But when they ripen and grow yellow, we see them leaning and bending down, as if they awaited merely the scythe which shall take their life away. Even so is it with these great and brave captains, who in the flower and freshness of their years, lift their heads, defy the foe, and conquer him. Nothing seems impossible to them then ; but as they approach old age, and are tortured with infirmities and sickness, they bend down and sink slowly into their graves, and nothing is left to them save their proud names and the renown which they have won. Ah, what a sweet and blessed hope it would be for them if like the corn they could be born again and renew themselves in this world. It is true that the joyful resurrection which God has promised us makes amends for all." ¹

¹ Vol. iv. p. 71.

CHAPTER XXIII

FRENCH INFLUENCES ON THE QUEEN'S CHARACTER

Mary's happy childhood—The brightness of home-life in France—Letters of Antoinette de Bourbon, Duchess of Guise, to her daughter the Queen of Scotland—Letters of Henry of Guise to his father—Mary and Elizabeth of Valois—Their last letters to each other—Closing days of Elizabeth—The open-air amusements of Mary's youth—Visitors to France from many lands—Dancing, music, dress, and jewels—The Queen's favourite poets—The Hymns of the *Sieur de Maisonneuve*—His life and character—Was the Court of Henry II. hopelessly corrupt?—Opinion of Professor Lemonnier—The Queen's memories of France.

THOUGH the Queen of Scots, during the thirteen years of her residence in France, had her full share of public and private troubles, there can be no doubt that girlhood was the happiest period of her life. Before her marriage with the Dauphin and the death of Henry II., she lived continually in the warm glow of affection and admiration. The fact that her home was with the royal family did not withdraw her from the constant and careful supervision of her nearest relatives, and there is abundant evidence that the children brought up by the Guises breathed the atmosphere of love rather than fear, and enjoyed a frank, gay intercourse with their elders. The letters to the Queen Dowager of Scotland concerning her daughter should be compared with those written some years earlier by the Duchess Antoinette to Mary of Lorraine, in which she tells of the progress made

Home Life of the Guises

by another child whose welfare was very dear to her—her eldest grandson, the little Duke of Longueville.¹ Amidst the arid descriptions of lawsuits and the perpetual allusions to money matters, the gossip of the Court, the record of family movements, and the formal compliments, there are a few sentences which blossom like flowers on the edge of sands, and which show us the gentler home-life of the bustling, ambitious Guises.

“As for our grandson,” writes Antoinette to her daughter in Scotland, “he is well and is growing fast. He begins to understand very well, and can almost say his paternoster. He is a pretty and good boy.”²

One of the earliest letters must be that dated November 15 (1538?),³ in which Antoinette hopes that her daughter and her royal son-in-law, James v., may soon have “a fine boy.” She says in this letter: “Your father is going to Court, and I am going to see my mother, who is quite well. So are the good Queen [Philippa]⁴ and our grandson, who is a wonderfully fine and pretty child.” She thanks King James for the gift of a diamond, which she will keep all her life, and adds: “I thought he looked so handsome in his portrait that if you knew how much I love him I am afraid you would be jealous.”

¹ There is a group of these letters in the Balcarres Papers, vol. ii., from which the extracts given in this chapter have been selected. Unfortunately, the most skilled experts find it difficult to decipher some of them. There is much mis-spelling, the letters “e” and “o” and “i” and “r” are often indistinguishable from one another, while the ends of some lines are torn away. The year is seldom given.

² Balcarres Papers, vol. i. No. 4.

³ *Ibid.* No. 11.

⁴ The expression “King” and “Queen” applied by relatives to René II., Duke of Lorraine, and his widow, Philippa, will not puzzle readers who remember that the Dukes of Lorraine claimed rights to the kingdom of Sicily.

French Influences

This is one of the very few playful touches in the correspondence of a lady whose reputation is chiefly associated with the sterner virtues.

When the infant Princes of Scotland died within a few days of each other (1541), Antoinette wrote to King James that she would seek the prayers of "that good Queen who is a nun, and of her holy companions."¹ Kindly messages about the cloistered Philippa were frequently sent to Scotland, and she appears to have been regarded as a blessed saint, still lingering upon earth, who watched over the fortunes of her descendants.

In another letter to her daughter, Antoinette says: "I keep as the best bit the news of our grandson, who will very soon be a man. If only we had a painter, you would see how pretty he is. He is the best child I ever saw. He is tall and very healthy, thank God. I hope he will be a joy to you—may our Lord grant it."²

¹ Balcarres Papers, vol. ii. No. 6.

² *Ibid.* No. 7. This letter is facsimiled, copied, and translated in the *National Manuscripts of Scotland*, part iii. Letter xxii. The difficulties of Antoinette's mis-spelt and unpunctuated sentences may well lead to differences of opinion among translators. For example, take the following passage:—

"Nous avons ceans monsieur vostre oncle et monsieur le duc debar et sa fame Revenant de la court quy tous font bonne chere monsieur vostre pere et sy enpeche a les festyer qua grant peine aies vous lestres de luy."

This is translated as follows in the *National Manuscripts*: "We have here Monsieur your uncle and Monsieur the Duke of Bar and his wife returning from Court, who all make good cheer to Monsieur your father, and he so busies himself feasting them that it is with much ado you get letters from him."

The writer prefers this translation (leaving out the word "Monsieur"):—

"We have here your uncle and the Duke of Bar and his wife on their way back from Court, who are all very well. Your father is so busy in entertaining them that you will hardly get letters from him."

The Duke of Longueville

The Duke of Longueville was regarded with the same pride and affection which Mary Stuart inspired in later years. Almost every letter of the Duchess Antoinette between 1539 and 1541 contains some news about "the little man,"¹ his growth, his pretty ways and his intelligence. These letters prove, however, that there were frequent illnesses among the children. At different times the Duchess mentions that five of them had been suffering from fevers and other maladies.

The Duke of Longueville was one of the first to tell the Queen Mother in Scotland of the charms and graces of his royal half-sister. In a letter written in that beautiful boyish handwriting of the sixteenth century which became so quickly spoiled, he says: "I would not forget to let you know that the little Queen of Scotland is thought so very pretty in this company that the King is much pleased with her. I am resolved, Madame, to do her all the service in my power."²

The note of sincere praise of the child Queen is heard in the letters addressed by great ladies of the Court of Henry II. to Mary of Lorraine in Scotland. Modern writers assure us that French society in the first half of the sixteenth century was emerging slowly from the semi-barbarism of the Middle Ages; but have not we of the twentieth century much to learn from the wonderful and voluminous correspondence of that period, in which extreme delicacy

¹ "Le petit homme se porte ausy bien quyl est possible" (No. 10). There are similar references to the little Duke in No. 8.

² *National Manuscripts of Scotland*, part iii. No. 30.

French Influences

of feeling is joined with perfect goodwill? We may search through twenty volumes without finding a single unkind letter. The peculiar situation of each friend is perfectly understood, and the writer knows as if by instinct how to choose the word which will cheer and strengthen. Each extant communication addressed to the exiled Queen Dowager of Scotland seems to us like "a brook by the way." Anne d'Este, Duchess of Guise, in an undated letter, wrote: "I assure you only, Madame, that you have the best and prettiest young Queen that I think can be in the world. I believe that you would have great satisfaction if you saw her, for we must no longer think of treating her as a child. Her conversation and behaviour retain nothing of childishness."¹

Diane de Poitiers wrote, about the time of Mary's marriage: "Be assured, Madame, that there is no person who desires more your health and prosperity than I do, nor of what concerns you. Among these things, Madame, I can assure you that as regards the Queen your daughter, I will exert myself to do her service more than to my own daughter, for she deserves it more. I assure you truly that she did not speak as a child, but as a person of fifty years, as Messieurs the deputies of Scotland can testify to you,—which has been a very great pleasure to all the company."²

There is something which is hardly conventional flattery in the references of French contemporary writers to Mary's girlhood. Mellin de Saint-Gelais, one of the most courtly poets of the age, seems

¹ *National Manuscripts of Scotland*, part iii. No. 33.

² *Ibid.* No. 34.

“A Little Rosebud”

carried beyond himself in the enthusiasm of his praises—

“ Il luy verra, sous cheveleure blonde
Une chenue et prudente pensée,
Sur qui l'espoir de maint laurier se fonde ;
En la blancheur par nul trouble offensée
De l'ample front, il verra vertu peinte,
Finie en elle, aux autres commencée.”¹

An early biographer of Mary, Nicolas Caussin, sums up the opinion of courtiers on the Queen's first years in France :—

“ She was still a little rosebud, who kept her charms shut up in early childhood. But as she developed with growing years, she was seen to be a Princess descended from the blood of more than a hundred kings. She possessed a body formed by the hands of beauty, a clear mind, a firm judgment, a lofty virtue, and an incomparable grace of speech.”

Writing on her marriage, Nicolas Caussin says : “ All things smiled beneath the rays of that dawn, and it seemed as if happiness must pour forth her favours with full hands upon a marriage whose knot had been tied in heaven, in order to win the approval of all the earth.”

We cannot but wish that history had preserved for us such frank and charming letters from Queen Mary as those which Henry of Guise wrote to his father during the Italian expedition. They are full of the spirit of childish fun and frolic, and show the seven-year-old writer as a mischievous, naughty, lovable boy. No tutor,

¹ *Œuvres* (édition de Prosper Blanchemain), vol. ii. p. 282.

French Influences

it is evident, had overlooked these compositions.¹

Writing on January 22, 1556-57, from Saint-Germain, Henry says: "On Innocents' Day they gave us a good fright; for Madame Isabeau came to give us our 'innocents';² but I was up already, and the Duke of Bavaria, who also came to give them to us, got a nice beating, and I did the same to M. de Lorraine in his bed. I shall keep a good look-out in future for fear of blows."

We can hear "a hurry of feet and little feet" along the dark corridors of Saint-Germain on the winter morning; the smothered laughter and whispering, the rushes from door to door, the pretended groans of the fourteen-year-old Duke of Lorraine as his little cousin greeted him so roughly on Innocents' Day.

Henry writes as if his father were merely a big schoolboy like the Duke of Lorraine, and there must have been something very sweet in the home atmosphere which produced such letters. He describes the hunting, and tells how the pages ate up all the good bits of the hares, "and I assure you they have had no toothache." He tells that the King had promised hackneys to him and his cousin, that a new court for pall-mall had been made at Nanteuil, one of the family houses, and that he was going to look carefully after his little brothers.³ "They have been telling grandmamma that I was obstinate, but Desfossés [probably one of his tutors]

¹ They are printed from the originals in the Bibliothèque at Rouen by M. Joseph de Croze in his work, *Les Guise, les Valois et Philippe II.*, vol. i. p. 332.

² Blows with a whip given in fun.

³ "Je serois leur gouverneur et leur apprendrois leur cour."

Mary and Elizabeth of Valois

shows that this is not true, for if I had been, he would have given me a beating." We see from this letter how the Court fools, Brusquet and Stic, made fun for the children. Henry concludes as follows: "Monseigneur, I will not write you a longer letter, because I am hungry and want my dinner. I assure you I have a good appetite."¹

Writing from Villers-Cotterets on April 27, Henry says: "I have now another pretty little brother whom my mother gave me at Nanteuil, directly after I had left to go to Rheims with my uncle."

The Court etiquette must have been stiffer than that of Nanteuil, Meudon and Joinville, and the royal children had not the exuberant vitality which Mary shared in early girlhood with her cousins of Guise. But the severe suffering caused her by the unkindness of Madame de Paroy proves that the Scottish Queen had been accustomed to petting and indulgence. She was encouraged to cultivate the closest affection for every companion in the nursery. Henry II. and his wife educated their children on the plan approved by Camillo in *The Winter's Tale*: "They were trained together in their childhoods; and there rooted betwixt them then such an affection, which cannot choose but branch now." The rest of Camillo's speech is not inapplicable to the relations of Mary and the Princess Elizabeth, for when the former was a captive in England and the latter was within a few months of her early death, they "shook hands, as over a vast, and embraced, as it were, from the ends of opposed winds." Elizabeth desired that one of her daughters should marry Mary's son.

Mary wrote from Bolton on September 24, 1568,

¹ "Je vous promets que j'avons [*sic*] bon appétit."

French Influences

to thank the sister of old nursery days for her kind and comforting letters, which to her had been God's messengers of consolation. "I see well," wrote the Queen, "that I ought to praise God because, for my good fortune, we were brought up as children together. For that reason we are bound by an indissoluble friendship, which you on your side have shown me. But alas! how shall I make you a return except in loving and honouring you, and—if ever I have the power—in serving you according to the wish I shall have and have had all my life."¹

A Queen of twenty-six, for whom nineteen years of captivity remained, wrote thus to a Queen-Consort of twenty-three, who was already dying under the hands of Spanish physicians.² In July Elizabeth had suffered from fainting fits, and from strange attacks of melancholy, during which she wept "without knowing why."

The letters which cheered the captive Queen of Scots must have been written while the "suavissima soror" of old days was herself sinking fast towards the grave. Mary's last letters to Elizabeth are dated September 24. On September 22, according to contemporary accounts, the Queen of Spain's illness entered on a critical phase. She foretold her early death, and her ladies spent days and nights weeping beside her bed. On Sunday, October 3, the best and most beloved of Catherine de' Medici's children gave birth prematurely to a little daughter, and herself passed away soon after noon. The French Ambassa-

¹ Labanoff, *Recueil*, vol. ii. p. 183.

² M. de Ruble has described the closing weeks of Elizabeth's life in his book, *Le Traité de Cateau-Cambrésis*, pp. 317-22. See also the excellent biography of Elizabeth by the Marquis du Prat, and Major Martin Hume's chapter in *Queens of Old Spain*.

Elizabeth's Early Death

dor, Fourquevaulx, tells that in her dying hour the Queen called him to her side and said, "Ambassador, you see that I am about soon to leave this poor world for a happier kingdom, where I trust that I shall dwell with my God in everlasting glory."

Elizabeth slept in peace, her hands folded over the crucifix, "as if in a gentle slumber"; and Philip II., who loved her truly, and had said his farewells before her consciousness departed, shut himself up for a month in a monastery, where he mourned her amid continual services.

On October 18, the Bishop of Cuença preached Elizabeth's funeral sermon, amid the sobs of a great congregation. Brantôme bears testimony to the universal mourning for this young Queen, who had followed through life the simple path of duty.

Now that all the sinister legends to which Brantôme gave too ready heed have been dispelled, we understand that the "Queen of the Peace" received her reward even in this world, because she had made the best of her opportunities. The Duchess of Alba and the other ladies of the Court laid flowers on her coffin, and history has placed other wreaths beside these faded blossoms.

In her last letter Mary told her "good sister" the story of eleven months' imprisonment, and hinted at her fears for the future. "I am in the hands of those who watch me so closely that a little thing would serve as their excuse for doing me a worse turn than that of keeping me against my will. Save for that, I should long ago have been in France."¹

"You have made in jest a proposal," wrote Mary in the same letter, "which I wish to take seriously ;

¹ Labanoff, *Recueil*, vol. ii. p. 184.

French Influences

the reference to your daughters.” She offered her son for either of the Spanish Princesses, if only Philip II. and Charles IX. would help her to regain her throne. In the letter of September 24 we see the imprisoned Queen beating fiercely against her bars, and still under the illusion that royal knight-errants might arise on her behalf in France and Spain. Though in some respects this is one of the least pleasing of Mary’s letters, there is pathos in the attempt to link her wild fortunes with those of the child-companion whom, in the Latin letter dated on the same day from Bolton, she addressed as “Soror mea optima,” subscribing herself “Vestra dilecta soror et cognata.”¹ She had wished that Elizabeth should receive her storm-tossed ship into a safe harbour,² and the expression reminds us that the lives of sixteenth-century princes and princesses were in a singular degree at the mercy of winds and waves. Elizabeth cast anchor in earliest girlhood in a land-locked haven; Mary was driven about in troublous seas. Mr. Andrew Lang expresses the truth when he says: “The stress of contending world-forces was thrusting against a girl.”³

On November 30, 1586, Mary wrote a letter of condolence to Philip II. on the death of his young wife:—

“In the midst of my troubles I have received two pieces of news at once, through which it seems that fate is redoubling its efforts to put a full end to me. One of these pieces of news is that of the death of the Queen, your wife and my good sister, whose soul may God have in His keeping. The other is the

¹ Labanoff, *Recueil*, vol. ii. pp. 188, 189.

² *Ibid.*

³ *History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 138.

Open-air Pastimes

information that you have been told that I am inconstant in the matter of religion, and that, unhappily for me, you suspect sometimes that this is true.”¹

Mary's tribute to her child-companion was heartfelt and sincere. “I have lost the best sister and friend that I had in the world, and her on whom my hope was chiefly fixed. And although this loss is irreparable, and we must resign ourselves to it and submit ourselves to the will of God, who has called her to Himself and taken her away from this world that He may give her the enjoyment of one which is far more blessed, I cannot speak to you as yet about this loss or even think of it without my heart melting in tears and sighs, while the love I bore to her comes up continually before my memory.”²

With such letters before us, we can hardly exaggerate in saying that some of the purest influences on the Queen's character were derived from her residence at the Court of France. Looking back on these thirteen years, she must have remembered, not only the pomp and glitter of the Court of Henry II., but a home-life in which it was possible that Christian virtues should thrive.

She may have thought also, during weary prison hours, of the healthful open-air amusements which had strengthened her constitution, of her pastime in the deep woods that fringed the Loire, and the habit of vigorous exercise which prepared mind and body to endure the anxieties of State. She had seen the Court escape, as at Amboise, from the midst of difficulties into the April sunshine, as if the worst perils

¹ Mary's letter of September 24, with its excuses, may well have stirred suspicion in the mind of Philip II.

² Labanoff, *Recueil*, vol. ii. p. 238.

French Influences

could be dashed aside like the raindrops of an Easter shower.

An incident which happened on this Amboise visit reminds us that Mary's passion for amusement must have been encouraged, in girlhood, by a thousand ingenious and mirthful displays. It is the story told by Brantôme of how her uncle, the Grand Prior, dressed as an Egyptian lady, and carrying on his left arm a monkey, tilted against the Duke of Nemours, that renowned cavalier who had ridden on a Shrove Tuesday down the staircase of the Sainte Chapelle on his horse "le Réal," and who, for this occasion, was attired as a city housewife in black cloth, with a bunch of a hundred keys hanging from his girdle. The Grand Prior, who appeared masked, robed in velvet and with widely puffed silk sleeves, had dressed his monkey in baby-clothes, to the high delight of the spectators, but finding that it frightened his horse, he was obliged to hand it to an attendant. The jingling of the Duke of Nemours' keys on their great silver chain made a noise, says Brantôme, like that of bells each time that his horse leaped.

There was no end to the inventiveness of the young nobles in devising pleasures for themselves and the King. The fancy for dressing in Oriental costume was developed under Henry II. Knights of Malta were seen in the ballrooms of the Louvre, dancing a ballet with ladies dressed in Turkish costume. Sometimes the dancers were robed as Moorish kings and queens, or as Indian savages with coloured feathers. Henry II., the Dauphin, and a company of nobles, dressed themselves up as Turks during the rejoicings for the capture of Calais, and rode out of the Palace

The Court in Fancy Dress

of the Tournelles along the Rue Saint-Antoine in robes of white silk, each carrying on his left shoulder a quiver full of arrows. The winter night was set aflame by torch-bearers, and at the head of the Turkish troop rode the royal trumpeters on horseback, followed by a Turkish band of musicians wearing white, and mounted on mules and donkeys. The Turks were challenged by a body of Moors, who had started from the Hôtel de Montmorency, and a tournament took place amid the acclamations of the multitude, to the sound of barbaric music. The ladies of the Court, we may assume, were spectators of this weird display,¹ as they were always watchers of King Henry's amusements.

We have seen something of the magnificence with which the chief provincial towns welcomed Kings and Queens. The entertainments were partly contrived from classical subjects, partly from the dimly understood new world which was revealing its mysteries so slowly to Europe. Leonard Limosin, on one of his enamelled dishes, represented Henry II. as Jupiter seated at the table of Olympus, having beside him two goddesses, Catherine and Diane, and around him the inferior divinities of the kingdom.² Classical representations were frequent at Court, but we suspect that a keener delight came from the reception of dusky potentates like Shakespeare's Prince of Morocco, who could boast that their scimitar had slain "the Sophy and a Persian Prince," and "won three fields of Sultan Solyman."

The Ambassador of the "King of Argos," who

¹ Sauval, *Histoire et Antiquités de la Ville de Paris*, vol. ii. p. 692.

² E. Bourciez, *Les Mœurs polies et la littérature de cour sous Henri II.*, pp. 176, 177.

French Influences

visited Paris in 1552 with a gift of horses for Henry II., was received by the magistrates of the city with honour, and was taken to visit the Louvre, the Tournelles, Notre Dame, and the Bastille. So keen was the interest of the populace that a double row of archers lined the streets to guard him.¹ Intellectual curiosity on geographical and ethnological questions was widely awake at the French Court during Mary's girlhood. The world outside Europe was a hunting field for fancy, and travellers' tales provided ever varying ideas for municipal and private entertainment designed to please royalty.

The love of pleasure in all its varieties, and especially of dancing, music, and dress, must have been planted deeply in the heart of every lady brought up at the Valois Court. Brantôme, in his biographies of the Princesses Elizabeth and Margaret, daughters of Henry II., dwells at length on the sumptuousness and taste of their costumes, and though sadder themes occupy most of his celebrated chapter on Mary Stuart, she probably possessed in girlhood richer robes and costlier jewels than those of Elizabeth, Claude, or Margaret of France. The young Queen of Spain, Brantôme says, never wore the same gown twice,² and the depredations of Madame de Paroy suggest that the Queen of Scots had a large reserve of velvet and satin dresses in her wardrobes. The love of jewels was a feminine characteristic which Mary shared with her girl-companions. She had been richly provided even in childhood with ornaments, as we know from one of the Cardinal's letters to her

¹ E. Bourciez, *Les Mœurs polies et la littérature de cour sous Henri II.*, pp. 56, 57.

² Vol. viii. p. 19.

Mary's Jewels

mother.¹ In a letter of her own, which must in all probability belong to the spring of 1556, the Queen says she had been informed by Arran's people that his father, the Duke of Châtelherault, was sending a gentleman with some jewels for her at Easter.² The messenger, Sir James Hamilton, arrived in the summer of 1556, bringing with him much valuable property which had been in the possession of the elder Arran since the death of James v. As next heir to the throne, he had been appointed Governor of Scotland and tutor to the infant Queen. On his retirement from these offices in 1554, he received royal and parliamentary discharges for the property of the Crown which he had held in trust. But some jewels, tapestry, and clothes still remained in his hands, and for these Sir James Hamilton received a receipt from the Queen dated June 3, 1556.³

Among the jewels handed over to Mary were thirty-one rings, thirteen of which were set with diamonds, eleven with rubies, four with emeralds, and three with sapphires. There were many jewelled ornaments, twelve pieces of tapestry in cloth of gold or silver, and a richly gemmed dagger which had been presented by Francis I. to his son-in-law, James v. "It was brought back to Holyrood in 1561, and is last heard of, five years afterwards, in the hands of that Lord Ruthven who rose from his death-bed to play such a memorable part in the murder of Riccio."⁴

It was an agate-hilted poniard, set with emeralds,

¹ Labanoff, *Recueil*, vol. i. p. 12. Letter dated February 25, 1552-53.

² *Ibid.* p. 6.

³ Joseph Robertson, *Inventaires de la Roynie Descosse*, pp. 3-6 and Preface, xi, xii.

⁴ *Ibid.* Preface, p. xii.

French Influences

rubies, pearls and diamonds, and with a great sapphire on the head.

Although Mary did not agree to the alleged proposal of her uncle Charles that she should leave her jewels in his keeping when she returned to Scotland, she was generous in her gifts to relatives, and presented the Duchess of Guise, before her departure from Calais, with a necklace of rubies, emeralds, and diamonds.¹ When making her will, before the birth of her son in 1566, the Queen bequeathed to the house of Guise "a legacy of great rubies and great pearls, to be handed down from generation to generation as the inheritance of its first-born."² Costly separate gifts were set apart for various members of the family, and the children of her uncles Claude, Duke of Aumale,³ and René, Marquis d'Elbœuf, were to have their full share in the inheritance. To the Cardinal of Lorraine she left an emerald ring. Her natural disposition was most generous, and the gifts she set apart for her maternal relatives are proofs of her unaltered regard. Little more than two years after she was ordering with regal magnificence for the disposal of these priceless treasures in the event

¹ Joseph Robertson, *Inventaires de la Royne Descosse*, Preface, p. xvi and p. 10.

² *Ibid.* Preface, p. xxxiv and pp. 96, 97, 101, 102.

³ The learned editor of the *Inventaires*, in a note to p. xxxv of his Preface, is mistaken in his remarks on the Duchy of Aumale. He says that Claude, third son of the first Duke of Guise, "became Duke of Aumale in 1547. It was at his marriage, as we learn from a letter of Henry II., that Queen Mary, after her arrival in France in 1548, first danced with the Dauphin." It was Francis, not Claude, of Guise who became Duke of Aumale in 1547. He held the title till the death of his father in 1550, when he became Duke of Guise. His brother Claude, Marquis of Mayenne, thereafter took the title of Duke of Aumale. It was at the marriage of Francis, not Claude, that the little Mary danced with the Dauphin. The marriage of Claude to the daughter of Diane de Poitiers had taken place in 1547.

Mary's Favourite Poets

of her death, the prisoner-Queen wrote to Elizabeth from Bolton, begging that the remainder of her jewels should not be sold, as the Scottish Parliament had decreed. "I should be very well content," she added, "if you could have them, for greater security, since they are no fit meat for traitors, and between you and myself I make no difference. I should be glad if there were any you fancied, that you should take them from my hand or with my full consent."¹

To the pleasures of open-air life, of dress and personal adornment, the daughters of the house of Valois, and the Queen of Scots their companion, added those of literature. Brantôme tells that the Princesses Elizabeth and Margaret loved books, and he mentions as the favourite poets of Queen Mary two of the best known and one of the least known writers of the age, Ronsard, Joachim du Bellay, and Maisonfleur. "The nymph of Scotland" was among the brides to whom du Bellay said farewell in his Ode on the Marriage of Margaret of Savoy:—

"Adieu sœurs, adieu belles;
Adieu doctes pucelles."

The tributes of the two world-famous poets are quoted by many biographers of Mary, and need not be repeated here.²

¹ Labanoff, *Recueil*, vol. ii. p. 172.

² Prosper Blanchemain's edition of Ronsard in eight volumes enumerates in the Index eleven longer or shorter references to the Scottish Queen. The editor suggests that it was at her request that Ronsard published the first edition of his works in 1560 (vol. viii. p. 28). The first Ode addressed to the Queen in these volumes belongs to 1567, the year of her tragedy (vol. ii. p. 481). Ronsard wrote with evidently sincere sorrow about the Queen's darker years. In his view she was ever an exile—

"Se souvenir de France et du sceptre laissé,
Et de son premier feu comme un songe passé."

(vol. iv. pp. 35-36).

French Influences

The third poet mentioned by Brantôme, L'Huillier, Seigneur de Maisonfleur, is little known to modern readers. Ronsard, in a poem dated 1564, addresses the "learned L'Huillier" and condoles with him on the loss of their royal patroness. He wishes that he might have been a bird to fly after her, or a star to shine above her vessel.¹ Ronsard's editor, M. Blanchemain, says in a note, that the "Cantiques" of Maisonfleur was "one of the books of poetry which Mary Stuart took with her to Scotland, and which she loved to read."²

M. Lalanne, in a note on Brantôme's brief reference to Maisonfleur, says: "I know only thirteen hymns of Maisonfleur, in a collection entitled *The Hymns of the Sieur de Valagre and the Hymns of the Sieur de Maisonfleur* (Paris, 1587, 12mo); and besides there are in the MSS 1663 of the Fonds français (folios 89 and 122) three pieces of verse. None of these has any connection with Mary Stuart."³

In the British Museum there is a small volume published a year earlier than that to which M. Lalanne refers, in which the "Cantiques" of Maisonfleur are bound up with poems by Remy Belleau and other writers.⁴ It is fairly certain that this was not the first collection of Maison-

¹ Vol. vi. p. 22 (Blanchemain's edition).

² This remark was probably quoted from Brantôme.

³ Brantôme, vol. vii. p. 406, note.

⁴ The British Museum possesses three small volumes besides that mentioned above, which contain the "Cantiques" of Maisonfleur, among other poems. The first, dated 1587 and published in Paris by Mathieu Guillemot, is that to which M. Lalanne refers. The others were published at Rouen in 1601 and 1613. These three add nothing to our knowledge of the poet's life.

The Poet Maisonfleur

fleur's sacred pieces which was published in France, for in the prefatory notes there is a reference to "this last edition." The small book is described as "an excellent work and full of piety."¹ It was dedicated in 1580 to Charlotte of Bourbon, Princess of Orange, but, owing, no doubt to the disturbed times, did not appear till six years later. In 1580 the author, as we learn from the dedication, was no longer amongst the living. One or two facts as to his career may be gleaned from the address "To Readers." The editor of the "Cantiques," who appears to have been an intimate friend of the poet, says that Maisonfleur had been brought up amidst the delights of the Court, that he had tasted the poisons of this world and had sometimes plunged as deeply into pleasure as any other gentleman of his time. By the mysterious leading of God's providence,² his heart had been so touched that he came to hate these earthly vanities; and resolving that he must make some return to God for His mercy, "he set himself to exalt in these beautiful verses His goodness, truth, and power, giving to us all thereby a singular example of piety." The editor of Maisonfleur deploras the fact that the age had produced so few poets who were willing to write on "holy and serious matters."

As a specimen of Maisonfleur's work we take three verses from the first "Cantique." His "ivory lute" was consecrated, as he says in the concluding

¹ This edition of 1586 was published by Jean Houzé in Paris. His house is described on the title-page as "la boutique au Palais, en la galerie des prisonniers pres la chancellerie."

² "Par un secret de la bonté de Dieu."

French Influences

lines of his last hymn, to the perpetual praise of God.

“ Mais bien que mon peché loin du ciel me recule
Que ma perversité me fait mon procès,
Si scay-je que j'auray vers mon Dieu seur accès
Par le sang espandu de l'Agneau sans macule.

“ Ces playes, ces tourments, ces injures souffertes
Ceste croix, ce mespris de sa divinité,
Ce mourir infini de son humanité
Me tiennent de ta paix les grandes portes ouvertes.

“ O Dieu dispensateur de la paix éternelle
Sans toy mille remords la guerre me feront.
Toy qui promets d'ouvrir à ceux qui heurteront
Ouvre à celui qui heurte et ton secours appelle.”

The prayer for peace and pardon breathes through all the hymns of Maisonneuve,¹ and although his is perhaps the dimmest of the many shadows which surround the Queen of Scotland, there is reason to believe that his verses, which she possessed, perhaps in manuscript only, were, in Ronsard's words, like a star shining over her vessel.

Much has been written on the darker side of Court life under Henry II., and there is a widespread opinion that, if any influences could have acted more perniciously on Mary's childhood than those of the wicked Guises, they would have been found in Court manners as depicted by Brantôme in *Les Dames Galantes*. We have attempted, in these pages, to give a faithful and impartial picture of the home-life

¹ Brantôme describes this poet as “ gentil cavalier pour les lettres et pour les armes ” (vol. vii. p. 415).

The Court of Henry II.

of the Guises during Mary's youth, and on the larger question we have pleasure in quoting the following passage by Professor Lemonnier:¹—

“It is very difficult for us to know how far corruption penetrated. We cannot always trust implicitly the contemporary writers; or the stories told by them may apply only to exceptional cases. We shall certainly not accept all the sayings of Brantôme in his *Dames Galantes*. Very often these are only reproductions of old stories, or of scandalous narratives which are entirely fanciful, and to which he put names in order to give them a greater piquancy. We must not preserve everything, and yet we must preserve something, of the impression left upon us by his narratives. We have seen what an example was set by Francis I. and his Court; the same spirit prevailed under Henry II. and his successors. And yet, in the homes of the Montmorencys, of the Guises, of the Bourbons, and other highly placed persons, we find properly conducted and fairly harmonious households, and an honourable family life. As for the middle classes, their time was filled up by the daily duties of their calling.”

To the modern student of the Valois reigns, not the least noteworthy fact is that eloquence, entirely apart from character, was highly esteemed in Court preachers and theologians. No pulpit orator of the age, with the exception of the Cardinal of Lorraine, was more admired than Jean de Montluc, Bishop of Valence. From Brantôme and Sir James Melville we gain a dubious impression of this prelate's character, but with his speech at Fontainebleau

¹ Lavissee *History of France*, vol. v. part ii. p. 262.

French Influences

before us, we feel that Brantôme did him less than justice.¹

It is certain that although Mary was brought up as a devout Catholic, she was not educated to a bigotry like that of Philip II. Cruelty was alien from her disposition, though she had seen cruelty. Brantôme says: "This Queen was never cruel; she was all kindness and gentleness. She never did a cruel act in France, nor even found pleasure or had the heart to see the execution of poor prisoners condemned by justice, as many great ones I have known have done. When she was on board her galley, she would not allow the lightest stroke to be given to any galley-slave. She begged her uncle the Grand Prior to carry out her wishes, and commanded the convicts' overseer to the same effect, for she grieved deeply over their sufferings and pitied them from her heart."²

De Thou has taken a sorrowful view of the Queen's thirteen years in France. He says: "Her marriage was truly glorious, but she had not, so to speak, more than the outward show of all those fortunate things which were spread before her eyes, for her mother, a very illustrious Princess, and the King her husband, died almost at the same time. . . . She was even at that early age alternately caressed and ill-treated by Fortune, which made its sport of her as a great and sorrowful example of the uncertainty of the things of this world."³

¹ There is no more savage brief characterisation in Brantôme's writings than his note on the Bishop in the biography of his brother, Blaise de Montluc. He describes the Bishop of Valence as "fin, deslié, trinquat, rompu et corrompu, autant pour son sçavoir que pour sa pratique."

History has not said her final word on this eloquent Churchman, who was accused of Huguenot sympathies.

² Vol. vii. p. 421.

³ *Histoire*, vol. ii. p. 315.

Memories of France

Ronsard was right, perhaps, when he imagined that Mary's years in France would grow dim on the horizon of memory. In the year of her landing at Roscoff, Herberay des Essars published the eighth book of his translation of the *Amadis de Gaul*, and on the title-page of this, as of the earlier volumes, was printed his motto, which may have expressed the Queen's mood as she recalled in later life her experiences in France, "Acuerdo olvido: Remembrance—forgetfulness." Remembrance of a thousand kindnesses; forgetfulness of the mortifications which are inseparable from the life of Courts.

APPENDIX A

Original Letters connected with the Queen's Girlhood, with Translations

THE SIEUR DE BRÉZÉ TO THE QUEEN DOWAGER OF SCOTLAND

Balcarres Papers, Vol. III. No. 126

July 31 [1548].

"MADAME,—Jay receu a ceste heure la lettre quil vous a pleu mescripre avec le paquet de Monsieur L'Ambassadeur Berthier la lecture duquel servira a lune partye de lennuy de nostre chemyn pour apres en mander au vray la suffisance du personnaige a quoy ne feray faulte Vous disant Madame la Royne vostre fille faire aussi bonne chere et estre aultant joyeuse Dieu mercy que layez veue y a longtems Je supply nostre Seigneur luy vouloir maintenir et de ma part je vous supply treshumblement quil vous plaise croire que navez serviteur en ce monde qui soit plus prest de rendre obeissance aux commendemens de voz voluntez que moy qui sera lendroit pour prier le Createur Madame vous donner en bonne sante treslongue et tresheureuse vye. De gallere ce derniere Juillet.

"Vostre treshumble et tresobeissant serviteur,

"BREZE."

[*Addressed*] "A La Royne."

[Translation]

MADAME,—I have just received the letter you have been pleased to write me, along with the packet of M. Berthier, the Ambassador, the reading of which will serve to relieve the tedium of our voyage, and afterwards I shall be able to report accurately on the ability of that personage, as I shall not fail to do. I assure you, Madame,

The Girlhood of Mary Queen of Scots

that the Queen your daughter fares as well and is, thanks to God, as cheerful as you have seen her for a long time. I pray our Lord to preserve her in this state, and for my own part I beseech you very humbly to believe that you have no servant in this world who is more ready to obey your commands than I am. I will now ask the Creator, Madame, to give you, with good health, a very long and very happy life.

On board the galley, this last day of July.

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

BRÉZÉ.

THE SIEUR DE BRÉZÉ TO THE QUEEN DOWAGER OF SCOTLAND

Balcarres Papers, Vol. III. No. 127

Undated.

“MADAME,—Je nay voulu faillir de vous faire ce mot de lettre par Monsieur de Corsefot lequel est venu trouver la Royne en ce lieu pres de sa maison ou nous avons donne ce soir fonde Aussy pour vous advertir Madame que la Royne faict fort bonne chere Dieu mercy et na encores este mallade sur la mer Le temps est quelque peu bon pour nous esperant quil samendera de myeulx en myeulx Et ne feray faulte quant Dieu me aura faict si heureux de prandre terre en France de vous en advertir Cependent madame il vous plaira me faire tant de bien que soye retenu au nombre de vos plus fidelles et affectionnez serviteurs Vous presentant en cest endroit mes treshumbles recommandations bien humblement a vostre bonne grace supply[ant] nostre Seigneur Madame vous [donner] en sante longue et heureuse vye, &c.

“Vostre treshumble et a jamais tresobeissant serviteur et affectionne,

“BREZE.”

[Addressed] “A La Royne.”

[Translation]

MADAME,—I am unwilling to lose this opportunity of writing you this short letter by Monsieur de Corsefot, who visited the Queen in this place near his house, where we anchored this evening, and

Appendix A

to inform you, Madame, that the Queen, thank God, fares exceedingly well and has not yet been ill on the sea. The weather is fairly good, and I hope it will go on improving. I shall not fail to let you know when, by God's blessing, we land in France. Do me the favour, Madame, if it please you, to count me among your most faithful and attached servants. Now I commend myself very humbly to your favour, praying our Lord to grant you, Madame, with health, a long and happy life.

Your very humble and ever obedient and affectionate
servant,

BRÉZÉ.

THE SIEUR DE BRÉZÉ TO THE QUEEN DOWAGER OF SCOTLAND

Balcarres Papers, Vol. III. No. 129

August 3 [1548].

"MADAME,—Jay receu ce matin la lettre quil vous a pleu mescripre et quant a vous faire entendre des nouvelles de la Royne vostre fille Je vous puyz asseurer Madame quelle faict aussy bonne chere et est aussy sayne que layez jamais veue dequoy de ma part jen loue nostre Seigneur et ne regrette que je nay le moyen de luy faire meilleur traitement mais je vous veulx bien asseurer Madame quil ne manquera rien de ma part a faire toutes les diligences quil me sera possible pour luy faire service Et encores que ce mait este le commandement du Roy je ny vouldroys faillir Je suys tresmarry que le temps na este tant pour nous que ce porteur ne nous heust trouve icy, mais il fault tout homme qui hante la mer avoir patience Ce jourdhuy il a commence a faire ung fort beau temps et sil continue je esperance vous mander bien tost de noz nouvelles qui vous contenteront bien fort Et vous veulx asseurer Madame que encores que ces jours passez ayons heu grans vens qui ayent fort tormente la gallere la Royne na jamais este mallade, qui me faict esperer que en la grand mer elle ne sera gueres Quant au meschant que scavez il me semble que ferez bien de vous en donner garde Car je ne doubte en rien que ce ne soit ung dangereux paillart et qui meust vollu croyre il heust tenu compaignye a noz galleres. Madame, je ne feray faulte a faire tout le plaisir quil me sera possible adce gentilhomme de qui il vous a pleu mescripre non en cela seulement mais quant ung chien viendroit a la part ou je seroys et quil fust advertye de vous Je luy vouldroys faire

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tous les services quil me seroit possible vous suppliant treshumblement Madame voulloir croire que ne commanderez jamays a gentilhomme qui ait plus de volunte demployer sa vye pour vostre service que celluy qui en cest endroict vous va presenter ses treshumbles recommandations bien humblement a vostre bonne grace Et supply nostre Seigneur Madame vous donner en longue et heureuse sante laccomplissement de voz voluntez De gallere du droict de Sacquet ce vendredy iij^e Aougst.

“Vostre treshumble et a jamais tresobeissant fidelle et affectionne serviteur,

“BREZE.”

[*Addressed*] “A La Royne.”

[Translation]

MADAME,—I received this morning the letter you have been pleased to write me, and as for the news of the Queen your daughter, I can assure you, Madame, that she fares as well and is as healthy as you ever saw her. For this I praise our Lord, and only regret that I am unable to give her greater comfort. But I assure you, Madame, that nothing will be lacking on my part to serve her to the utmost of my power. Were it only because this was the King's command to me, I should not fail in my duty. I am very sorry that the weather has been so unfavourable for us that this bearer should have found us here,¹ but every seafaring man must have patience. To-day the weather has set fair, and should it continue, I hope soon to send you news which will be extremely welcome to you. I desire to assure you, Madame, that in spite of the very high winds during the past few days, which tossed the galley most severely, the Queen has never been sick. This makes me think that she will suffer little on the open sea. As for the bad man whom you know of, I think you will do well to beware of him, for I have no doubt whatever that he is a dangerous scoundrel, and if my advice had been taken, he would have accompanied us on our galleys. Madame, I shall not fail to show all the attention that is possible to me to that gentleman of whom you have been pleased to write me; and not in this only, but if even a dog came to the place where I was and I were told it was from you I would show it all the attention that was possible. I beg you very humbly, Madame, to believe that you will never have at your command

¹ Literally: “I am very sorry that the weather has not been so favourable for us that this bearer should not have found us here.”

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a gentleman who has a better will to employ his life in your service than he who now commends himself very humbly to your favour. I pray our Lord, Madame, to give you all that you desire, with a long and healthful life.

On board the galley, on the right of Sacquet, Friday, August 3rd.

Your very humble and ever obedient, faithful, and affectionate servant,

BRÉZÉ.

THE SIEUR DE BRÉZÉ TO THE QUEEN DOWAGER OF SCOTLAND

Balcarres Papers, Vol. III. No. 131

August 6 [1548].

"MADAME,—Je vous veulx bien advertir que ceste nuit sont arrivez deux gentilhommes de France en ung navire charge de vivres en ce lieu lesquelz mont apporte lettres de Madame de Breze, et aussy que vous vouloys escrire de noz nouvelles. Le temps qui jusques icy nous a este contraire a faict apparence de se calmyr avec quelque peu de bon vent qui a faict que incontinent avons faict voguer pour entrer en la mer parquoy nay heu loysir de vous escrire mais ainsy que avons commence dentrer en la mer le vent sest tourne contraire qui nous a faict encores relaizer et tourner a labri auquel nous estiens Et estans la sont arrivees cinq ou six navires chargees aussy de vivres lesquelles nay vullu laisser passer sans reconnoistre et aussy pour vous faire entendre Madame que Dieu mercy la Royne vostre fille faict aultant bonne chere et se treuve aussy peu ennuyee quil est possible comme aussy faict toute sa compaignye Esperans que le premier beau temps qui se presentera nous lemployrons sy bien que serons bien tost en France. Cependant je vous supply treshumblement quil vous plaise me faire tant de bien et dheur de me retenir du nombre de voz plus fidelles et affectionnez serviteurs. Vous presentant en cest endroit mes bien humbles recommandations de bien bon cueur vostre bonne grace pryant le Createur, Madame, vous donner ce que plus desirez en sante treslongue et tresheureuse vye. De la radde de Lisle de Lamelesche ce vj^e Aoust.

"Vostre treshumble et a jamais tresobeissant serviteur,

"BREZE."

[*Addressed*] "A La Royne."

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[Translation]

MADAME,—I wish to let you know that there arrived here this evening, on board a ship laden with provisions, two gentlemen from France who brought me letters from Madame de Brézé ; and also I wished to tell you our news. The weather, which up to the present has been unfavourable to us, showed signs of moderating, with a slightly favouring wind. For this reason we at once set sail for the open, and that is why I have not had time to write you. But just as we reached the open the wind veered round against us, and we were compelled to return to port and our former shelter. While we were there five or six ships, laden with provisions, arrived, and I was unwilling to let them pass without a greeting, and also without informing you, Madame, that, thank God, the Queen your daughter is as well, and is as little wearied as possible, as are also the rest of her company. I hope that as soon as the fine weather returns we shall make such good use of it that we shall soon be in France. I entreat you very humbly to do me the favour and honour to count me among your most faithful and attached servants. Now I commend myself humbly and with all my heart to your favour, praying the Creator, Madame, to give you all that you most desire, with health and a very long and very happy life.

From the roadstead of the island of Lamlash, this 6th of August.

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

BRÉZÉ.

THE SIEUR DE BRÉZÉ TO THE QUEEN DOWAGER OF SCOTLAND

Balcarres Papers, Vol. III. No. 132

SAINT-POL-DE-LÉON, August 18 [1548].

“MADAME,—Estant assure que ce vous sera ung grand contentement dentendre des nouvelles de la Roynne vostre fille et de sa compaignye, je nay vullu faillir en obeissant au commendement quil vous avoit pleu me faire a mon partement de vous advertir de sa bonne prosperite et quelle faict aultant bonne chere que layez jamays veue Et qui a este moyngs mallade sur la mer que personne de sa compaignye de sorte quelle se moucqloit de ceulx qui lestoient. Que jestime me estre ung aussy grand heur qui me scauroit advenir

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de ma vye et fymes nostre descente en se lieu de Saint Paul de Leon le xv^e de ce moys daougst Ayans demeure dixhuict jours sur la mer avec grandes tourmentes et este presque contrainctz deux ou troys foys relaizer a dombertrand et vue nuict ainsy que estiens pres de dix lieux en Cap de Cornouaille estant la mer merveilleusement impetueuse et avec aussy grans vagues que lay de ma vye veue Le tymon de nostre gallere fut rompu, qui nous myt en bien grand crainte, mais nostre Seigneur y voullut pourveoir de sorte que ne demourasmes gueres sans y en avoir mys ung aultre quelque grosse mer quil y eust. Vous advisant Madame que jespere de brief rendre la Royne vostre fille a Saint Germain ainsy que le Roy ma mande que sa volonte estoit quelle y fust menee et luy a envoye audevant Maistre dhostel et tous aultres officiers pour luy faire service. Aussy que Monsieur et Madame de Guyse, Monsieur destampes et Monsieur de Rohan luy viennent audevant, et ne sachant Madame vous advertir daultres nouvelles pour ceste heure ne vous feray plus long propos, remectant le reste au Sieur de Combas qui vous pourra compter toutes nouvelles de ce pays de France. Et mestime aultant heureulx de lavoit trouve sy prest de son partement que de chose qui me scauroit advenir Pour le grand desir que avoys de vous advertir de la chose de monde qui vous peult rendre aussy ayse et contente qui est de la bonne sante de la Royne vostre fille. Vous asseurant Madame que ne feray faulte ayant apprins aultres nouvelles de vous escrire le plus souvent quil me sera possible, Cependent Madame je vous supply treshumblement me faire tant de bien et dheur que je demeure en vostre bonne grace ainsy que lay toute ma vye desire et desire et comme lung de voz treshumbles serviteurs. De Saint Paul de Léon ce xviiij^e Aougst.

“Vostre treshumble et a jamais tresobeissant affectionne serviteur,

“BREZE.”

[*Addressed*] “A La Royne.”

[Translation]

MADAME,—As I believe you will be very glad to have news of the Queen, your daughter, and of her company (and as I wish to obey the orders which you were pleased to give me at my departure), I inform you that she prospers, and is as well as ever you saw her. She has been less ill upon the sea than

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any one of her company, so that she made fun of those that were. I think this as great a piece of good luck as could happen to me in my life. We landed in this place, Saint-Pol-de-Léon, on the 15th of this month of August, having been eighteen days on board ship, amidst heavy storms. We were almost compelled on two or three occasions to return to port at Dumbarton, and one night about ten leagues from the Cape of Cornwall, when the sea was wondrously wild with the biggest waves I ever saw, to our great consternation, the rudder of our galley was broken. Nevertheless our Lord was pleased to intervene so that we replaced the rudder almost at once, in spite of the heavy sea that was running. I inform you, Madame, that I hope shortly to bring the Queen your daughter to Saint-Germain, in accordance with the instructions which the King has sent me, that he wished her to be taken there. He has sent a *mâitre d'hôtel* and all other officials, for her service. Also that Monsieur and Madame de Guise, M. d'Étampes and M. de Rohan are coming to meet her. As I have no other news to tell you for the present, Madame, I shall not write you at greater length, but will leave the rest to the Sieur de Combas, who will be able to give you all the news from this country of France. I think myself as fortunate in having found him so nearly ready to start as in anything that could happen to me, as I was eager to inform you about that thing of all others which will bring you comfort and satisfaction—the good health of the Queen your daughter. I assure you, Madame, that when I have heard other news I shall not fail to write you as often as I can. Now I beg you, very humbly, Madame, to do me such honour that I may remain in your favour as I have desired to do all my life and still desire; and as one of your very humble servants. From Saint-Pol-de-Léon, August 18.

Your very humble and ever-obedient, affectionate servant,

BRÉZÉ.

THE SIEUR DE BRÉZÉ TO THE DUKE OF AUMALE

Bibliothèque Nationale. Fonds français, 20.457, fol. 121

ROSCOFF, August 18, 1548.

“MONSEIGNEUR,—Estant les gallères arryvées en ce lieu de Rossecou je n'ay vullu faillir troyz ou quatre jours après la descente de la petite Roynce d'Escosse les envoyer a Rouan pour actendre

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le commandement du Roy de ce qu'il luy plaira qu'ils facent et a esté par le conseil du seigneur de Villegaignon lequel s'en va devers le roy ayant aussy bien faict son debvoir et aussi saigement que l'eussiez sceu désirer vous asseurant monseigneur que de ce que j'en puis congnoistre il ne manquera rien de sa part quant à la charge qu'il a pleu au Roy luy donner. Ne me voullant oblyer Monseigneur de vous advertir que si le Roy laissez quelques forces en Escosse que la Royne l'auroit fort agréable, laquelle m'a commande le faire entendre au Roy. Qui sera l'endroit ou vous presenteray mes très humbles recommandations bien humblement a vostre bonne grace suppliant nostre Seigneur Monseigneur vous donner aultant d'heur et de contentement que je vous en ay toute ma vye désiré et désire. De Rossegouf ce xviii^e Aoust 1548.

"Vostre très humble et a jamais très obéissant affectionné
fidelle serviteur,

"BRÉZÉ."

"A Monseigneur.

"Monseigneur d'Aumale."

[Translation]

MONSEIGNEUR,—When the galleys had arrived in this port of Roscoff, I did not fail, three or four days after the landing of the little Queen of Scots, to send them to Rouen, to await the King's instructions as to their further action. This was done by the advice of the Seigneur de Villegaignon, who is going to meet the King, and who has accomplished his duty as well and as wisely as you could have wished. I assure you, Monseigneur, that as far as I can learn, nothing will be lacking on his part for the fulfilment of the task which the King has been pleased to lay upon him. I must not forget, Monseigneur, to let you know that if the King would leave some troops in Scotland, this would be very welcome to the Queen, who has bidden me tell the King her wishes. Now I will very humbly commend myself to your favour, praying our Lord, Monseigneur, to give you as much happiness and satisfaction as I have wished for you all my life and wish still. From Roscoff, August 18th, 1548.

Your very humble and ever very obedient, affectionate,
faithful servant,

BRÉZÉ.

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THE SIEUR DE BRÉZÉ TO THE QUEEN DOWAGER OF SCOTLAND

Balcarres Papers, Vol. III. No. 122

BORDEAUX, *All Saints' Day* [November 1] 1548.

"MADAME,—Jay receu la lettre quil vous a pleu mescrire qui ma este le plus grand plaisir qui meust sceu arriver Tant pour avoir entendu de voz nouvelles que des affaires depar della. Estant bien marry quelles ne se portent a vostre contentement lesquelles le Roy veult estre conduictes par vostre advis et ordonnance. Vous asseurant Madame que peu de temps apres estre descendu a terre avec la Royne vostre fille et sa compaignye le Roy me rescript que layant mise entre les mains de Madame vostre mere quil envoyait audevant d'elle men allasse trouver Monsieur Daumalle en . . . ou Angoutmoys et dela Monsieur le Connestable en Languedoc lesquelz il envoyoit en ce pays de Bourdelaix pour mettre ordre a quelques mutinations qui y estoient survenues desquelles ne vous manderay pour les remectre a la suffisance du porteur qui vous en pourra dire bien au long craignant aussy vous faire trop longue lettre. Et la laissy troys jours apres que Madame vostre mere leut receue en lune des maisons de mon pere en laquelle elle nous voullut bien faire tant dhonneur que dy passer Et estoit pour lors en tresbonne sante Comme elle est de present a Saint Germain Le Roy ne la encores veue mais il est party de Moulins pour y aller et croys Madame quil ne la trouverra moings agreable et a sa fantaisie que tous ceulx qui lont veue lont trouvee jollye et de bon esprit. Les nopces de Monsieur de Vendosme ont este faictes a Moulins avec Madame la Princesse de Navarre lesquelz sont partyz avec le Roy et Royne de Navarre pour sen venir en Guyenne. Aussy Madame estant en ce pays de Bourdelaiz ou les vins sont bien bons Jay dict a Monsieur le Connestable quil feroit fort bien de vous en envoyer : Ce quil ne luy a falle depuys ramentevoir parce que incontinent il en feist faire provision pour vous en envoyer cent pieces avec ses troupes. Esperant que verray bien tost le Roy et sil me parle des affaires du pays descosse ne feray faulte de luy en dire ce que jen ay congneu Aussy Madame je croys que avez bien este advertie de la malladie de Messieurs de Dasquyn et de Leviston qui a este fort grande et mesmes de celle dudit Sieur de Leviston, qui est pour le present bien guery Quant audit Sieur Dasquyn il commence a se bien pro . . . Le petit Ceton mourut a Encenys dun flux de ventre qui est toute

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la perte que nous avons faicte en nostre voyage qui ma este grandement enuieuse Monsieur Daumalle et Monsieur le Connestable vous escripvent des nouvelles que me gardera vous en faire plus longue harangue Synon vous supplier treshumblement Madame me retenir du nombre de vos plus obeissans et affectionnez serviteurs qui ne desire en ce monde plus grand heur que davoir ce bien demployer ma vye pour vostre service.

“Madame, apres vous avoir presente mes treshumbles recommandations a vostre bonne grace je supply nostre Seigneur, Madame, vous donner en treslongue et heureuse sante laccomplissement de voz voluntez. De Bourdeaulx ce Jour de Toussaintz 1548.

“Madame Je partiray demain pour aller trouver le Roy, Vous assurant que ne faire faulte vous faire entendre des nouvelles de ce pays le plus souvent quil me sera possible.

“Vostre treshumble et a jamais tresobeissant serviteur,

“ BREZE.”

[*Addressed*] “A La Royne.”

[Translation]

MADAME,—I have received the letter you have been pleased to write me, which was the greatest pleasure I could have had, because it told me news alike of yourself and of public matters over there. I am very sorry that they are not going on to your satisfaction. The King wishes that they should be directed by your advice and instructions. I inform you, Madame, that shortly after my landing with the Queen your daughter and her company, the King wrote me that when I had placed her in the hands of Madame your mother whom he was sending to meet her, I should go to join M. d'Aumale in — or Angoumois, and thence join Monsieur the Constable in Languedoc, both of whom he was sending into this country of the Bordelais in order that they might quell some rebellions which had arisen. I will not write you further about these, relying upon the sufficiency of the bearer, who will be able to tell you the whole story, and fearing also to write you too long a letter. I left her three days after Madame your mother had received her in one of the houses of my father, which she did us the honour to visit. She was then in very good health, and so continues to be at Saint-Germain. The King has not yet seen her, but he has set out from Moulins to go thither. And I think,

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Madame, that he will not find her less charming and pleasant to his taste than all those who have seen her and have admired her beauty and intelligence. Monsieur de Vendôme¹ has been wedded at Moulins to Madame the Princess of Navarre, and they have set out with the King and Queen of Navarre for Guyenne. I may add, Madame, that as I was in this Bordelais country where the wines are very good, I said to Monsieur the Constable that he would do well to send you some. There was no need to remind him of this afterwards, because he immediately made arrangements to send you a hundred cases along with his troops. I hope I shall soon see the King, and if he speaks to me about Scottish affairs, I shall not fail to tell him what I have learned about them. I expect, Madame, that you have been informed of the illness of Lords Erskine and Livingston, which was very severe, especially that of Lord Livingston, who is now well recovered. As for Lord Erskine, he is beginning to get well [?]. Young Seton died at Ancenis of a flux. This was the only loss we suffered on our journey, and I deeply regretted it. Monsieur d'Aumale and Monsieur the Constable are sending you their news, and this prevents me from writing you at greater length, save that I beg you very humbly, Madame, to count me among your most obedient and affectionate servants, one who desires no other happiness in this world than that he may be fortunate enough to spend his life in your service.

Madame, after having commended myself very humbly to your favour, I pray our Lord, Madame, to give you all that you desire, with a very long and healthful life. From Bordeaux, All Saints' Day, 1548.

Madame, I shall start to-morrow to join the King, and assure you that I shall not fail to let you have news from this country as often as I can.

Your very humble and ever obedient servant,

BRÉZÉ.

¹ Antoine de Bourbon.

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FRANCIS, DUKE OF AUMALE, TO HIS SISTER, THE QUEEN DOWAGER
OF SCOTLAND

Balcarres Papers, Vol. II. No. 102

BORDEAUX, November 9 [1548].

[This letter has not the date of the year, but the contents show that it belongs to 1548. It is one of the most characteristic letters of the Duke, and may be compared with a letter of Diane de Poitiers, written on October 18th "to the Constable and the Duke of Aumale." In the letter Diane announces the birth of a son to the Marquis of Mayenne (Claude of Lorraine), who had married her daughter, Louise de Brézé, on August 1st, 1547. In an unpublished letter written from Dijon on July 4th [1548] the Duke refers to his approaching marriage and tells his sister that he does not yet know whether he is to have the elder or the younger daughter of the Duke of Ferrara. ("Je ne suis certain sy jaray lesnee ou la seconde," *Balcarres Papers*, Vol. II. No. 105.) It is a circumstance which throws rather an interesting light on the manners of the time that this great soldier, now almost thirty years of age, should leave it to others to decide which of two brides was to be allotted to him, a child of twelve or her sister aged seventeen. He had not seen either.]

"MADAME,—Encore que Monsieur le Constable et moy vous ayons escript ensemble et mande par chiffre et instructions tout ce quil nous semble pour le service du Roy et le vostre je ne lerray de vous escrire ce mot par Fourquevaulx a quy je me fie bien fort et luy ay dict beaucoup de chozes de lanvyé que jay de vous voir dont Madame je vous supplie treshumblement le vouloir croire et sy par luy retournant de dessa men mander vostre oppinion et sy vous me comandés quelque chose vous seres hobeie et servie dung frere quy ny espargnera bien ny vie pour le service que je dois au Roy a vous et a la Reine vostre fille et la sienne et sy en cela je suis paresseux vous pources dire que je ne vous suis rien Madame je croy quavez entendu comme en lieu de la seconde fille de Monsieur le Duc de Ferare quy mestoit accordee lon ma donne Madame la princesse sa seur esnee quy a este a la poursuite de mon bon mestre elle est a ceste heure a Lion et sera le xxv^e de ce mois a Scaint Germain en peu de jours nous y arrivrons monditz Sieur le Connestable et moy pour incontenant faire nos nopces ce

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ne sera sens vous y soubhaitter pour juger ung petit ce que cest de vostre belle seur quy na pas encore xviii ans et est aussy grande que vous Monsieur mon pere a voulu guardant lhonneur de la mayzon aller au devant jusques a Grenoble et layant trouvee il men a escript les lettres que je vous envoie quy me font amoureux de loin Madame les ungs ce marient pour appres ce reposer en leurs mayzons mes je ne suis de ceulx la comme jespere le vous faire cognoistre quant il plera au Roy le me commander je ne veulx obbliser a vous mander que Madame la Marquize ma belle seur est acouchee dung beau filz Je prie Dieu quil men donne bientost aultant et quil vous donne ce que dezire celluy quy ce recommande treshumblement a vostre bonne grasse et quy vous veult a james demeure. De Bourdeaulx ce ix^e de Novembre.

“Je ne vous mande rien de larrivee a Scaint Jermain de nostre petite raine pourceque les propos seroient trop long et que jay le tout conte audit Sieur de Fourquevaulx

“Vostre treshumble et hobeissant frere,

“FRANCOYS DE LORRAINE.”

[*Addressed*] “A La Roine doueriere d’Escosse.”

[Translation]

MADAME,—Although the Constable and I have written you a joint letter and have informed you in cipher and by message of all that seems to us desirable for the King’s service and your own, I will not omit to write you these few lines by Fourquevaulx, in whom I have much confidence, and to whom I have said a great deal about the wish I have to see you. I beg very humbly, Madame, that you will believe him, and when he returns that you will give him your views, and if you command me to do anything, you will be obeyed and served by a brother who will spare neither goods nor life for the service I owe to the King and you, and to the Queen, your daughter and his. If I am slothful in this you may say that I am nothing to you. Madame, I think you have heard that instead of the second daughter of the Duke of Ferrara,¹ who was granted me, they have given me the Princess her elder sister. This was done at the request of my kind master [Henry II.]. She is now

¹ The younger daughter, as M. Guiffrey remarks in the note on one of Diane’s letters referring to the Duke’s marriage, was at this time only twelve. Anne d’Este was seventeen and the Duke nearly twenty nine. *Lettres de Dianne de Poytiers*, pp. 31, 32 note.

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at Lyon and will reach Saint-Germain on the 25th of this month. In a few days the Constable and I will arrive there and the marriage will at once be celebrated. I shall wish that you were there so that you might form some idea what kind of a sister-in-law this is, who is not yet eighteen years old and is as tall as you. Our father, taking the honour of the family into his keeping, went to meet her as far as Grenoble, and after seeing her he wrote me the letters I am sending you, which make me in love with her all this way off. Madame, some people get married in order to rest afterwards in their homes, but I am not one of these, as I hope to let you see when the King is pleased to command me. I must not forget to tell you that the Marchioness, my sister-in-law, has given birth to a fine boy. I pray God that He may soon give me one also, and that He may grant you all that is desired by one who recommends himself very humbly to your favour, and who wishes ever to remain yours. From Bordeaux, November 9th.

I say nothing about the arrival at Saint-Germain of our little Queen, because the story would be too long, and I have told it all to the Sieur de Fourquevaux.

Your very humble and obedient brother,

FRANCIS OF LORRAINE.

HENRY II. TO THE SIEUR D'HUMIÈRES

Bibliothèque Nationale. Fonds français 3120, fol. 68

MEZIEU, *September 18, 1548.*

[The following letter, from Henry II. to M. d'Humières, is interesting from more than one point of view. It shows the King's anxiety to provide suitable accommodation for his "little daughter," the Queen of Scots, at Saint-Germain, and it proves, incidentally, the truth of Claude de l'Aubespine's remark, that the principal personages of the kingdom devoured the King as a lion does its prey. The greater part of the letter is printed by M. Guiffrey.¹]

"A mon cousin le Sieur de Humyères, chevalier de mon ordre et gouverneur de mon filz le daulphin

"MON COUSIN,—Depuis mes dernières lettres j'ay receu les vostres de III et XII^e de ce moys, tres aise d'avoir veu par icelles comme

¹ *Lettres de Dianne de Poytiers*, p. 33 note.

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mes enfans continuent de se porter de bien en mieulx et pove estre seur que ne me sçauriez faire plaisir ne service plus agréable que de m'advertir le plus souvant que pourrez de leurs nouvelles. Et pour ce que j'espère aller bien tost à Saint-Germain-en-Laye j'ay advisé de faire dresser et accommoder pour eulx et pour m fille la royne d'Escosse les salles et chambres, tant de dessus l mienne, que de dessus celles de ma femme, de mon oncle le roy d Navarre et de mon cousin le connestable, comme verrey par l mémoire que je vous envoye ; et mande à Saint Germain qu'il face incontinant besongner en la meilleure dilligence qu'il ser possible. Au demourant, mon cousin, ma cousine la grand seneschalle m'a faict requeste pour vostre filz de Becquincourt d l'office d'auditeur de mes comptes à Paris, puis naguères vacqu par le trespas d'un nommé Potarde ; suivant la promesse que j luy avois cy-devant faicte du premier desdicts offices qui viendroi à vacquer. Ce que je ne luy ay peu accorder, pour ce que j j'avois faict estat de l'argent qui proviendrait d'icelluy office pou employer en mes affaires qui maintenant sont merueilleusemen pressez, actendu mesmement qu'il se retire peu de deniers d Guyenne à cause des troubles et émotions que sçavez qui y sont mais vous povez estre seur, mon cousin, que devant qu'il soi guières, je feray bailler à vostre dict filz autant d'argent que ledic office aura esté vandu, cependant il aura ung peu de patience. E au reste je prieray Dieu qu'il vous ait en sa sainte garde.

“Escript à Mezieu, le xviii^e de septembre 1548.

“HENRY.

“CLASSE.”

[Translation]

MY COUSIN,—Since I wrote last I have received your letters of the third and twelfth of this month, and was very glad to see from them that my children go on improving in health ; and you may be sure that you cannot give me any more welcome pleasure or service than by letting me have news of them as often as you can. And as I hope to go soon to Saint-Germain-en-Laye, I have thought it well to have fitted up and furnished for them and for my daughter the Queen of Scotland the rooms and bedchambers above my own and also those above the apartments of my wife, of my uncle the King of Navarre and of my cousin the Constable, as you will see from the paper I am sending you. I have sent instructions to Saint-Germain that the work is to be at once put in hand and carried through as quickly as possible. For the rest, my cousin my cousin the Grande Sénéchale [Diane de Poitiers] has asked me

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to grant to your son de Becquincourt the office of auditor of my accounts at Paris, which was recently vacated by the death of one named Potarde, in accordance with the promise I formerly made to her of the first of these offices that should fall vacant. I have not been able to grant her this, because I had already made use of the money which should come from the office¹ to employ it on my business, which is now exceedingly urgent, especially in view of the fact that we get little money from Guyenne on account of the troubles and disturbances which, as you know, exist there. But you may be sure, my cousin, that before long I will grant to your son as much money as the said office will have cost; let him have a little patience. I pray God to have you in His holy keeping.

Written at Mezieu,² September 18, 1548.

HENRY.

CLAUSSE

HENRY II. TO THE SIEUR D'HUMIÈRES

Bibliothèque Nationale. Fonds français, 3120, fol. 69

LA BRESLE, October 2, 1548.

[Portions of this letter have been quoted by M. de Ruble (*La Première Jeunesse*, p. 17), and by M. Guiffrey (pp. 35, 36).]

"A mon cousin le Sieur de Humyères, etc.

"MON COUSIN,—Pour ce que ma fille la royne d'Escosse pourra arriver à Saint Germain-en-Laye environ le xviii^e de ce mois, et moy bien tost après, vous envoieze, incontinent la présente receue, faire acoustrer le logeis de Carrières, pour, icelluy estant acoustré et en ordre, y mener mes enfans, avecques lesquelz madicte fille la royne d'Escosse y logera jusques à ce que je soye par della. Et cependant l'on nectoira le chasteau dudict Saint-Germain-en-Laye, pareillement la basse-court et le villaige; et fera l'on audict chasteau ce que sçavez que j'ay ordonné y estre faict, beaucoup mieulx et plus aisément que si mesdicts enfans y estoient,

¹ The sale of public offices was one of the most characteristic features of the reign of Henry II.

² Mezieu is identified by M. Guiffrey as Meyzieux, twelve miles from Lyon. An old tower on a hill is a probable relic of the castle from which this letter was written.

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lesquelx aussi ne se trouveront que mieulx de changer ung peu l'air. Au demeurant, mon cousin, vous donnerez charge à La Salle que, suivant ce que je luy escriptz présentement par les lettres que je vous envoie, lesquelles vous luy ferez bailler, qu'il donne ordre de ne laisser venir audict Saint-Germain et principalement au chasteau personne, soit maçon, manouvrier ou autre de lieu suspect de malladie contagieuse ; et tiendrez main que le semblable se face à Poissy et au villaiges d'alentour, affin que quant je y seray, je n'y puisse avoir danger. Quant à ce que m'avez escript, par voz lettres du xxvi^e du mois passé que je receu hier a Lyon, de la malladie de la royne Leonor ma belle mère ; c'est chose dont j'avois jà esté adverty, et l'envoye visiter pour sçavoir comme présentement elle se trouve. Vous advisant au reste que j'ay esté tres aise d'entendre les bonnes nouvelles que m'escripvez de la santé de mesdicts enfans ; et qu'il n'y aura faulte que je ne tieigne à vostre filz de Becquincourt ce que je luy ay promis, au lieu de l'office de feu Potarde. Au regard du mémoire du departement du logeis de mesdicts enfans audict Saint-Germain, je vous renvoyeray par la première poste le mémoire que m'en avez envoyé, corrigé scelon mon intencion. Cependant je prieray Dieu, mon cousin, qu'il vous aict en sa sainte garde.

“Escript à la Bresle, le deuz^e jour de Octobre 1548.

“HENRY.

“CLAUSSÉ.”

[Translation]

MY COUSIN,—As my daughter the Queen of Scotland may arrive at Saint Germain-en-Laye about the 18th of this month, and I myself soon afterwards, you will send, as soon as you receive the present letter, to have the house of Carrières prepared ; so that, when it is prepared and put in order, you may take thither my children, with whom my daughter the Queen of Scotland will stay until I arrive. And at the same time they will clean the château of Saint Germain-en-Laye, with the stable-yard and the village. The work which, as you know, I have ordered to be done in the said château will be carried out much better and more easily than if my children were there, and they can derive nothing but benefit from a little change of air. And besides, my cousin, you will instruct La Salle (in accordance with the instructions in the letters which I am sending you for him with these, and which you will cause to be given him), that he shall give orders that no one shall come to Saint Germain and especially to the castle—whether mason, day-labourer or others—from any place which is suspected of having

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in it infectious disease ; and you will see to it that the same is done at Poissy and in the villages round about, so that when I come there I may be in no danger. As for what you wrote me in your letters of the 26th of last month, which I received yesterday at Lyon, about the illness of Queen Eleanor, my stepmother,¹ I had already heard of it, and I am sending some one to visit her so that I may learn how she is at present. For the rest, I may tell you that I was very glad to hear the good news you wrote me about the health of my children, and that I shall not fail to give your son, de Becquincourt, that which I have promised him instead of the office of the late Potarde. As regards the paper about the appointment of the household of my children at Saint Germain, I will return to you by the first courier the memorandum you sent me, corrected according to my plan. I pray God, my cousin, that He may have you in His holy keeping.

Written at la Bresle, October 2nd, 1548.

[There is a postscript to this letter which relates solely to the letters the King is sending to Queen Eleanor. The signatures "Henry" and "Clausse" follow.]

HENRY II. TO THE SIEUR D'HUMIÈRES

Bibl. Nat. Fonds français, 3120, fol. 72

NEVERS, Oct. 25, 1548.

[Part of this letter was printed by M. Guiffrey (pp. 46, 47 note).]

"A mon cousin le Sieur de Humyères, etc.

"MON COUSIN,—Ce m'a esté fort grant plaisir d'entendre par Cabasolles, et depuis par Saint-Luc, les bonnes nouvelles qu'ilz m'ont dictes de la santé de ma fille la royne d'Escosse et de mes enfans. Et à ce que j'ay veu par leurs portraictures que m'avez envoyées, ilz sont tous en très bon estat, Dieu mercy. Vous advisant que, pour le désir que j'ay de les veoir, j'ay délibéré faire si bonnes journées d'icy à Saint-Germain que j'espere y arriver le ix^e de ce mois prochain, et envoiray bientost davant ung des mareschaulz de mes logeis et des fourriers pour deppartir audict lieu du logeis au train que vous avez par dellà, affin qu'il n'y puisse avoir désordre. Au regard de ce que avez escript touchant la crüe de despence qu'il convient faire pour la nourriture des dames,

¹ Queen Eleanor, the second wife of Francis I., was a sister of Charles v.

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gentilzhommes et autres personnes que madicte fille la royne d'Escosse a avecques elle, et pour son aménagement, j'ay commandé au trésorier de mon espargne fournir quelque argent au trésorier de la maison de mesdicts enfans, tant pour subvenir à icelle despence que pour l'achapt seullement des meubles contenuz au mémoire que je vous ay envoïé par ledict Saint-Luc ; en attendant que je soie par dellà, où je feray pourveoir et donner ordre à tout ce qui sera requis et nécessaire, tant pour icelle madicte fille que pour les siens. Vous priant cependant continuer à m'advertir de leurs nouvelles le plus souvant que pourrez, et à Dieu, mon cousin, qu'i vous aïct en sa saincte garde.

“Escript à Nevers, le xxv^{me} jour d'Octobre 1548.

“HENRY.

“CLAUSSE.”

[Translation]

MY COUSIN,—I was very glad to hear, from Cabasolles and afterwards from Saint-Luc, the good news they have told me about the health of my daughter the Queen of Scotland and of my children. And as I have seen from their portraits which you have sent me, they are all in very good condition, thank God. I must tell you that because of the desire I have to see them I have decided to travel so quickly from here to Saint-Germain that I hope to arrive there on the 9th of next month, and I shall soon send in front of me one of the marshals of my household and furnishers to apportion rooms in the said place to the suite which you have there, so that there may be no disorder. As for what you have written me about the increase of expense which we ought to allow for the support of the ladies, gentlemen, and other persons whom my daughter the Queen of Scotland has with her, and for her household outgoings, I have ordered my treasurer to supply some money to the treasurer of my children's household, both as a provision for these expenses and for the purchase of that furniture only which is mentioned on the note which I sent you by the said Saint-Luc. The rest can wait till I arrive in that place, where I will make provision and give instructions about all things which are requisite and necessary, both for my daughter and for her people. I beg you none the less to go on sending me news about them as often as you can, and I pray God, my cousin, to have you in His holy keeping.

Written at Nevers, October 25th, 1548.

HENRY.

CLAUSSE.

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THE SIEUR DE BRÉZÉ TO THE QUEEN DOWAGER OF SCOTLAND

Balcarras Papers, Vol. III. No. 130.

SAINT-GERMAIN, *December 11* [1548].

“MADAME,—Aiant treuve le moyen de vous faire entendre des nouvelles de la Royné voustre fille, je nay voullu faillir a vous escrire ce mot par Sande Duram qui sera Madame pour vous assurer quelle ce porte merveillusement bien la grace a nostre Seigneur et le Roy lest venue . . (torn) . . ce lieu de Saint Germain la ou elle estoit avec Monseigneur le Daufin et vous veus assurer Madame que le Roy luy a faict la meilleure chere quil luy a este possible et luy continue encore de jour en jour et sestime grandement heureux dequoy elle est venue sans fortune et malladie et ne la tient moindre aujourdhuy que sa propre fille et ne doubte en rien que si Monseigneur le Daufin et [? elle] estoient en age ou aprochant dy estre que le Roy mecteroit bien toust les choses a execution mays en attendant le Roy les a voullu faire nourrir et ne faire que unne maison de tous leurs jens qui est pour les acoustumer de bonne heure les ungs avec les aultres vous assurant Madame que le Roy la treuves la plus jollie et la meilleure grace de petite princesse quil en ait jamays veu aussy a faict la Royné et toutte . . (torn) . . court. Madame apres vous avoir parle de . . (torn) . . voustre fille si esse que ne me veus oublier de vous faire antandre le comptantement que le Roy a de vous qui est tel et si grant que ne vous en saurois mander la moitie sinon que suys assure que en toutes choses qui vous toucheront ou a vos serviteurs quil vous en randera comptante vous voullant bien assures Madame que aves envoye unne dame icy avec la Royné voustre fille qui a autant satisfait toute ceste compaignee que si les six plus honestes de ce royaume y eussent este et de ma part ne voudroys pour chose du monde quelle ny feust venue tant pour la service de la Royné que pour la reputation du royaume descoco qui est Madame de flamy.

“Madame, Dieu ma faict si heureux davoir . . (torn) . . Royné voustre fille jusques entre les mains de Madame de Guise ne luy aiant faict le service ne a sa compaignee tel que jeusse bien desire qui me fera vous supplier treshumblement Madame excuser mes fautes sil en vient quelqugne a voustre cognoissance et me commander vos voullontes en lhobeissance desquelles jempliray ma vie et mon bien comme le plus fidelle et affectionne de tous vos

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treshumbles et treshobeissants serviteurs qui suply en cest endroit nostre Seigneur vous d[on]ner Madame longue et heureuse vie. De Saint G[ermain] ce xj^e de Decembre.

“Vostre treshumble et a jamays tresobeissant affectione
fidelle serviteur,

“BREZE.”

[*Addressed*] “A La Royne.”

[Translation]

MADAME,—As I have found means of letting you have news of the Queen your daughter, I did not wish to omit writing you this short letter by Sandy Durham in order to assure you that she is, thanks to our Lord, exceedingly well. The King has come to see her here at Saint Germain, where she was with the Dauphin. I assure you, Madame, he gave her the best welcome possible, and continues to do so from day to day. He thinks himself most fortunate in that she arrived without accident or illness, and holds her to-day for no less than his own daughter. I have no doubt that if the Dauphin and she were of marriageable age or approaching it, the King would soon put the business in hand. Meanwhile he wishes them to be brought up together, and that their people should make one household. The reason for this is that they may early grow accustomed to each other's society. I assure you, Madame, that the King thinks her the prettiest and most graceful little princess he has ever seen. The same opinion is held by the Queen and all the Court.

Madame, after having spoken to you of your daughter, I do not wish to omit telling you of the satisfaction which the King has in you. It is such and so great that I could not tell you the half, but I may assure you that in all matters which concern you or your servants he will make a full return. I assure you, Madame, that you have sent a lady hither with the Queen your daughter who has pleased all this company as much as the six most virtuous women of this kingdom could have done. For my part, I would not for the world have had her absent, having regard, not only to the service of the Queen, but to the reputation of the kingdom of Scotland—I mean Lady Fleming.

Madame, God granted me the happiness to place the Queen your daughter in the hands of Madame de Guise. I could not do such service as I could have wished to her and her company, and therefore I pray you very humbly, Madame, to excuse my faults if any of them

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should come to your knowledge, and to lay your commands upon me. In obeying them I will spend my life and my goods, as the most faithful and affectionate of all your very humble and very obedient servants. Now I pray our Lord to give you, Madame, a long and happy life. From Saint-Germain, December 11th.

Your very humble and ever-obedient, affectionate, faithful servant,

BRÉZÉ.

FROM THE CONSTABLE MONTMORENCY TO THE QUEEN DOWAGER OF SCOTLAND

Balcarres Papers, Vol. III. No. 19

CHANTILLY, *March* 30 [1548-49].

[An extract from this letter was made by Francisque-Michel in *Les Écossais en France*, vol. i. p. 494, and also by Mr. Moir Bryce (*English Historical Review*, vol. xxii. p. 44).]

“MADAME,—Pour le peu de seurete que nous prenons au passaige de ce porteur, ceste depesche sera seulement pour vous advertir de la reception de toutes voz lettres, Tant par le contrerolleur des vivres que depuis par les Sieurs de Fourquevaulx et de Visque desquelz jay aussi receues celles quil vous a pleu m’escrire (et entendu nouvelles de votre bonne disposition et de voz affaires Qui est telle que nous tous la desirons). Quant ausurplus de ce quilz ont apporte, il vous y sera si aulong et amplement satisfaict que jespere en aurez contantement, et aussi de la dilligence qui se fera a faire partir le secours que le roy vous envoie, Cependant Madame je me voye recommander treshumblement a votre bonne grace, et prier Dieu vous donner tresbonne et longue vye. De Chantilly ce xxx^{me} jour de Mars 1548. Je vous advise, madame, que la Roynne vostre fille continue a si bien se porter en toutes choses que le Roy en a tout le plaisir et contantement que lon scauroit penser. Aussi vous asseuray je que Monseigneur le Dauphin en est soigneulx et amoureulx comme de samye et sa femme et quil est bien aise a juger que Dieu les a faict naistre

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lun pour lautre. Je vous souhaicte souvent icy pour les veoir ensemble.

“(Signed) Vostre treshumble et tresobeissant serviteur,

“MONTMORENCY.”

[*Addressed*] “A La Royne La Royne Douairiere D’escosse.”

[Translation]

MADAME,—As we are doubtful about the safe crossing of this porter, this despatch will only be for the purpose of telling you that all your letters have been received, partly through the provision-master and afterwards also through the Sieurs de Fourquevaux and de Visque, from whom I have also received those which you have been pleased to write me (and have heard such news of your good health and of your concerns as we all desire). As for the rest of what they have brought, you will receive such long and satisfactory replies that I hope you will be content with them, and also with the speed with which we shall despatch the reinforcements which the King is sending you. Now, Madame, I shall commend myself very humbly to your favour, and pray God to give you a very long and happy life.

From Chantilly, March 30th, 1548 [*i.e.* 1549].

I may tell you, Madame, that the Queen your daughter is going on so well in every way that the King finds the fullest possible pleasure and satisfaction in her. I can also assure you that the Dauphin cares for her and loves her as if she were his sweetheart and his wife, and that it is easy to see that God caused them to be born for each other. I often wish you were here that you might see them together.

(Signed) Your very humble and very obedient servant,

MONTMORENCY.

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THE SIEUR DE BRÉZÉ TO THE QUEEN DOWAGER OF SCOTLAND

Balcarres Papers, Vol. III. No. 123

MAIGNELAY, *August 10* [1549].

"MADAME,—Aiant antandu ceste depesche je nay voulu faillir a vous faire ce mot de lettre qui sera pour me ramantevoir en vostre bonne grace et comme celluy qui sestimera heureux quant il aura le moien de vous faire service estant bien asseure Madame que seres bien au long advertie de toutes les nouvelles de pardega ne voullant faillir de vous assurer de la sancte de la Roinne vostre fille qui est aussy bonne la grace a noustre Seigneur que la luy sauries souhetter et luy cognoist on de jour en jour croistre en grandeur et desprit n'en faisant le Roy moindre estime que sy elle estoit sa propre fille que jespere quelque jour luy voir et en attendant son age lon faict tout ce que lon peult pour les faire bien vivre en samble Monsieur le Daufin et elle qui ont desia telle amitie ensamble comme silz estoient maries au demeurant Madame vous entanderez par ces porteurs laffection que le Roy a de vous bien secourir tant de la part de della comme de celle de dega qui me gardera pour leur sufisance vous en faire plus long discours et apres vous avoir supplie treshumblement me retenir tousjours du nombre de vos plus affectiones treshumbles et fidelles serviteurs Je supliray nostre Seigneur, Madame, vous donner longue et heureuse vie. De Maignelay ce dixieme jour d'Aust.

"Vostre treshumble et a jamays treshobeissant fidelle serviteur,

"BRÉZÉ."

[*Addressed*] "A La Royne, en Escosse."

[Translation]

MADAME,—Having heard this despatch,¹ I did not wish to omit sending you this short letter for the purpose of recalling myself to your favour, as one who will esteem himself happy when he has the means of doing you service. I am sure, Madame, that you will be fully informed of all the news here. I must not omit to assure you of the health of the Queen your daughter, which,

¹ *i.e.* possibly "having heard that this despatch was going." There are marks of haste in this letter.

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thanks to our Lord, is as good as you could wish it to be. We see her increasing every day in stature and intelligence. The King treats her with as much honour as if she were his own daughter, as I hope some day to see her. Meanwhile, until she is old enough, everything possible is being done to make her and the Dauphin get on well together. They are already as fond of each other as if they were married. For the rest, Madame, you will learn from these couriers the desire which the King has to help you, both on the other side and on this side. They are so well informed that there is no need for me to write at greater length, and after having begged you very humbly, Madame, to count me always among your most affectionate, humble and faithful servants, I shall pray our Lord, Madame, to give you a long and happy life. From Maignelay, August 10th.

Your very humble and ever obedient faithful servant,

BRÉZÉ.

THE CARDINAL OF GUISE (AFTERWARDS LORRAINE) TO HIS SISTER.
THE QUEEN DOWAGER OF SCOTLAND

Balcarres Papers, Vol. II. No. 139

ROME, *February* 14, 1550.

[This letter is interesting as a proof of the close attention which the writer was accustomed to give, alike to his sister's private business and to public matters in which she was concerned. The deaths of Duke Claude of Guise and of the Cardinal John of Lorraine took place about two months after the date of this letter.]

“MADAME,—Les nouvelles du deces du feu Pape Paul furent si soubdainement apportees et mon departement de la court si pressé que je n’euz loysir vous escrire et prendre conge de vous par lettre pour venir a ceste saincte election laquelle a este differee justques au vij^e de ce moys quil pleut a Dieu inspirer noz consciences et eslire en pape Julius le tiers de ce nom paravant surnomme Cardinal de Monte. Jespere que leglise et toute la Christianite y aura ung tresbon pasteur et gouverneur et en particulier que le trouverez pour voz affaires secourable et favorable Enquoy Madame je ne fauldray faire loffice que je doibz en son endroict et au vostre

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si tost que jen verray les moyens et l'opportunitè. Quant a voz affaires de France jespere que durant mon absence Messieurs mes freres y auront donne l'ordre qui y est requise, et moy de retour je les embrasseray de sorte que vous en aurez contentement qui ne sera toutesfoys plus tost que environ les pasques prochaines Car je suis deliberan de faire icy quelque sejour durant le caresme pres de sa saintete, affin de commencer par loysir Ce qui sera necessaire pour le bien des affaires du Roy et des vostres Vous assurant Madame que en tous lieux et endroictz ou je me trouveray je mettray bonne peine de vous faire preuve et monstrier par effect le desyr que j'ay de vous faire treshumble service et ne feray faulte a mon debvoir quant les occasions et moyens sen presenteront pendant et durant ce sejour si vous plaist me faire entendre de voz nouvelles je mettray peine d'accomplir ce que men manderez Et apres mes treshumbles recommandations a vostre bonne grace je feray fin pour prier Dieu Madame vous donner trespasseuse tresbonne et treslongue vie. De Rome le xiiij^e Febr. 1550.

“(Signed) Vostre treshumble et tresobeissant frere,

“ CHARLES CAR^{AL} DE GUYSE.”

[Addressed] “ A La Royne douairiere DEscosse.”

[Translation]

MADAME,—The news of the death of the late Pope Paul was so suddenly brought and my departure from court was so hurried that I had not time to write you and take leave of you by letter, as I had to go to that holy election. It was delayed until the 7th of this month, when it pleased God to inspire our consciences and to elect as Pope Julius, the third of that name, who was formerly surnamed Cardinal de Monte. I hope that the Church and all Christendom will find in him a very good pastor and ruler, and especially that you will find him helpful and favourable towards your affairs. In which respect, Madame, I shall not fail to do the duty I owe in his direction and in yours, as soon as I see means and opportunity. As for your business in France, I hope that during my absence my brothers will have been giving it due attention, and after my return I will take it in hand in such a way that you will be satisfied. This will not, however, be earlier than towards next Easter, for I think of making some stay here during

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Lent beside his Holiness, so as to attend at leisure to that which is necessary for the good of the King's business and yours. I assure you, Madame, that in all places where I may be I shall take pains to prove to you and show by deeds the desire which I have to do you very humble service, and I shall not fail in my duty when opportunities and means present themselves during the course of this stay. If you will be pleased to let me hear news from you, I shall take pains to carry out your commands. And after commending myself very humbly to your favour, I shall close, Madame, by praying God to give you a very happy, very good, and very long life. From Rome, February 14th, 1550.

(Signed) Your very humble and very obedient brother,

CHARLES CARDINAL OF GUISE.

HENRY II. TO MADAME D'HUMIÈRES

Bibl. Nat. Fonds français, 3347, fol. 12

REIMS, *March 15* [1551-52].

[The following letter gives a glimpse of the difficulties and disputes which arose sometimes among the officials of the royal children's household during the early girlhood of Queen Mary. Easter in 1552 fell on April 17th. This letter must have been written when the King was on his way to the military progress of 1552, when Metz, Toul, and Verdun surrendered to France. Henry II. entered Toul on April 10th, and on the same day the Constable Montmorency took possession of Metz.]

“ A Madame d'Humyères.

“ MADAME DE HUMYÈRES,—J'ay entendu tout ce que vous m'avez faict sçavoir par le Sieur de Contay, vostre filz, sur les deuz pointz qu'il m'a touchez, et que vous prétendez estre de la charge et auctorité que je vous ay donnée en la maison et auprès de mes enfans. Et pour vous faire responce là dessus, vous sçavez bien que pour ce qui touche le faict de la santé régime et gouvernement de vivre de mesdicts enfans, il est plus requis et convenable que les médecins, que je tiens auprès d'eux des meilleurs et plus experimentez que j'aye, soient creuz de ce qu'ilz en diront et feront,

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que milz autres qui s'en puissent mesler ; et n'ay jusques icy pensé ne entendu que vous ne autres que ausdicts medecins appartint ceste charge d'en respondre. Ne semblablement d'ordonner aussi sur le faict de la distribution des deniers et vérification de la despence qui se faict en ladicte maison, sinon au gouvernement d'icelle, comme à feu Monsieur d'Humyeres vostre mary durant le temps qu'il a vescu et au Sieur d'Urfé qui à present tient son lieu, auquel vous et autres ayans charge de mesdicts enfans, après avoir certifié par le menu ladicte despence soubz vostre seing, vous en devez bailler l'estat, pour sur ce estre par luy ordonné du paiement au trésaurier et payer, lequel ne peult payer un seul denier pour luy estre passé et aloué en ses comptes, sinon par les ordonnances et mandemens de celui qui a de moy pouvoir par lettres pattentes d'ordonner en cest endroit, comme a ledict sieur d'Urfé, et non autre. Et toutefois quand ladicte maison sera divisée et séparée, comme elle est maintenant, je veulz et entends que en l'absence dudict sieur d'Urfé estant, comme il est, icy avecq mon filz le dauphin, vous ayez la superintendance sur mes autres enfans avecq lesquelz vous estes et sur leur maison, dont vous prendrez tel soing que vous avez faict jusques icy, ordonnerez du faict de leur despence et en arresterez les estatx du paiement, comme feroit ledict Sieur d'Urfé, s'il y estoit en personne. Parquoy, afin que vous ne soyez plus en peine et dispute sur ce que vous aurez à faire quant à ces deuz pointz, je vous en ay bien voulu résouldre, et déclarer sur ce mon vouloir et intention, pour estre par vous ensuyviz, comme je suys seur que vous ferez. Qui me gardera de vous en faire plus longue lettre, priant Dieu, Madame de Humyères, qu'il vous ait en sa sainte et digne garde.

"Escript à Reims, le xv^e jour de mars 1551.

"HENRY.

"DUTHIER."

[Translation]

MADAME D'HUMIÈRES,—I have heard all that you have let me know through the Sieur de Contay, your son, about the two points upon which he has spoken to me, and which you think belong to the charge and authority I have given you in the household, with my children. In reply to you on these points—you know well that in all that concerns the health, diet, and mode of living of my children, it is more requisite and suitable that the physicians whom I keep with them (and who are among the best and most experienced that I have) should be obeyed [lit. believed] in

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what they say and do than a thousand others who may meddle therein. Up to the present I have never thought or meant that you or any others except the said physicians should have the duty of being responsible for this. Neither in the same way does it belong to you, but to the governor of the household, to arrange for the distribution of money and the verification of expenses belonging to it, as your late husband, M. d'Humières, did during his lifetime, and as is done now by M. d'Urfé, who at present holds his place. You and others who have charge of my children, after you have certified the expenses in full detail and under your seal, are to give him [M. d'Urfé] the statement of accounts, so that he may arrange about the payment with the treasurer and pay-master, who cannot pay out a single farthing, to be passed and allowed for in his accounts, except by the orders and command of him who has power given him for this purpose by letters-patent from myself—as the Sieur d'Urfé has and no other person. When, however, the household is divided and scattered, as it is at present, I wish and intend that in the absence of the Sieur d'Urfé, who is here with my son the dauphin, you should have the charge over my other children with whom you are, and over their household, of which you will take the same care as you have taken hitherto, arranging about their expenses and drawing up the accounts for payment, as the Sieur d'Urfé would do if he were there in person. Wherefore, that you may no longer be in trouble and dispute about your duties as regards these two points, I have been willing to settle the business for you, and to declare herewith my wish and intention, so that you may obey me, as I am sure you will. I need not, therefore, write you at greater length. I pray God, Madame d'Humières, that He may have you in His high and holy keeping.

Written at Rheims, March 15th, 1551 [52].

HENRY.
DUTHIER.

HENRY II. TO MADAME D'HUMIÈRES

Bibl. Nat. Fonds Clairambault, No. 1113, fol. 223

JOINVILLE, *April* 4 [1551-52].

“A Madame de Humyères, gouvernante des mes enfans.

“MADAME D'HUMYÈRES,—Je ne sçay d'où est venue l'occasion pour laquelle vous estes en craincte que l'on m'ait fait entendre de

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vous autre chose que ce que j'en ay tousjours veu et congneu, sachant combien est grande l'assurance que j'ay de vous et de vostre bon devoir auprès de mes enfans, dont je ne suis de ceste heure à faire preuve Et pour autant que tant s'en fault que cella soit véritable que jamaiz je n'en ay oy parler, je vous prie en demourer en repos et croire que je vous ay en telle estime et réputation que je doibz avoir une des personnes du monde que je désire plus auprès d'eulx continuant à y faire, ainsi que vous avez bien faict jusques icy et à mon contantement. Priant Dieu, Madame d'Humyères, qu'il vous ait en sa garde.

"Escript à Joynville, le iiiij^e jour d'avril 1551.

"HENRY.

"DE L'AUBESPINE."

[Translation]

MADAME D'HUMIÈRES,—I do not know whence the occasion has arisen which has caused you to fear that I have been told something different about you from that which I have always seen and known, since you are aware how great is the confidence I place in you and in your good service to my children, proof of which I have had before to-day. And inasmuch as this is so far from being true that I have never heard it spoken of, I beg you to remain at peace, and to believe that I hold you in such esteem and honour as I ought to hold one of the people in the world whom I most desire to have beside them. Go on doing as you have done, so well and to my satisfaction, up to the present time. I pray God, Madame d'Humières, that He may have you in His keeping.

Written at Joinville, April 4th, 1551 [52].

HENRY.

DE L'AUBESPINE.

THE CONSTABLE MONTMORENCY TO MADAME D'HUMIÈRES

[*Bibl. Nat. Fonds français*, 3133, fol. 6

LE CAMP DE HAGUENAU, May 9, 1552.

"A Madame de Humyeres.

"MADAME,—J'ay receu les vostres que m'avez escriptes du premier du présent, et faict veoir au Roy les siennes où il a entendu

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any less at present. I recommend him to you, and if through his means or in some other way we could get news from you, it would be a wonderful pleasure to us, considering how long it is since we heard last and the anxiety this causes us. As for our news here, the only thing I have to tell you at this time is that the Queen your daughter has during these last days had a toothache which has caused some slight swelling on her cheek, and on this account she was obliged to stay behind us three or four days in Paris, until the pain was over. She is coming here to-day, and her health, thank God, is as good as ever it was. For the rest, Madame she is increasing so much every day in goodness and beauty that I could not tell you how much satisfaction she gives to everyone. Now I recommend myself very humbly to your favour, praying that God may grant you, Madame, with perfect health, a very happy and long life.

From Fontainebleau, February 20th, 1553.

[Signed] Your very humble and very obedient brother,

C. CARDINAL OF LORRAINE.

[Addressed] To the Queen Dowager of Scotland.

In a letter of the DUKE OF GUISE to his SISTER in Scotland, written from Paris on April 17, 1554, there is the following reference to Mary :—

“ Monsieur le Cardinal mon frere ma dict quil vous e escripvoit si au long que je ne vous en feray autre reditte¹ Pour vous dire Madame que jay este tresaise dentendre la grand volonte que la Noblesse de dela a de bien servir le Roy et la Royn Madame vostre fille. Dont je suis seur quelle ne se sent peu tenu et obligea a vous. Et encores que son aage ne permette de comprendre pour le present grande affaire nest elle a ceste heure cy congnoistre quelle ne tient ce bien que de vous seule.”

(*Balcarres Papers*, Vol. II. No. 95.)

[Translation]

The Cardinal my brother has told me that he was writing you on these matters at such length that I shall not say

¹ Possibly the word “ sinon ” is missing here.

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you another repetition¹ [except] to tell you, Madame, that I have been very glad to hear of the great willingness shown by the nobility over there to do good service to the King and to the Queen your daughter. I am sure that for this she feels herself not a little bound and obliged to you. And although her age does not permit of her understanding great matters for the present, still she knows even now that she owes these good things to you alone.²

FROM THE DUKE OF GUISE TO THE QUEEN DOWAGER OF SCOTLAND

Balcarres Papers, Vol. II. No. 96

OFFEMONT, May 28, 1554.

[This letter was written on the eve of the campaign which culminated in the battle of Renty. It is interesting for our purpose because of the reference to Mary, and also as a typical communication from the head of the house of Guise to his sister in Scotland a few weeks after she had assumed the Regency.]

“MADAME,—Masseurant que ne trouverez mauvais si ceste lettre nest escripte de ma main pour lindisposition en laquelle je me suis trouve depuis quatre ou cinq jours et graces a Dieu je commence a reprendre ung peu de ma sante nayant voullu laisser pour cella a accompagner la depesche du Roy de ce petit mot parlequel Madame vous serez advertye comme toutes choses sont si bien preparees que nous sommes disposez de marcher dans le quinziesme jour du moys prochain pour aller trouver nostre armee et loger soubz la tante de sorte que de ceste heure nous commandons a dire adieu aux dames esperant ne retourner de ce voyage sans faire changer les dessaings de nostre ennemy lequel naura pas si grant moyen de favoriser le passage et entreprise du Prince despaigne, voullant bien oultre ce que je me reserve vous escrire de ma main y apres vous advertir encores que je scaiche que estes dame pour Gouverner le Royaume et disposer de toutes choses non seulement en paix mais en guerre et y pourveoir ainsi quavez bien et saignement faict par le passe suyvant ce quil vous a pleu me commander Que le temps durant quil est doux et paisible

¹ The business referred to in this and the previous sentence concerned proposals of marriage that had been made for the Duke's little daughter.

² Mary of Lorraine had become Regent of Scotland on April 12, 1554.

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requiert que vostre frontiere soyt plus forte quelle na este jusques icy de sorte que voz voysins ne puissent vous venir voir si a leur ayse et quil y ayt quelque place qui les arreste Ce que je vous en diz Madame nest pas que je ne vous estime pour mener la guerre aussi bien que je pourroys faire may pour obeyr a voz commandemens Estant impossible de se pouvoir myeulx ne plus avisement conduire qu'avez faict en la prise de possession par vous faicte du royaume pour la Royne madame vostre fille laquelle je vous assure croist tous les jours en beaulte et vertuz de sorte que nous en sentons tous honnorez Je ne vous diray rien du grant contentement que le Roy en a et de ce quavez faict pour la royne Madame vostredite fille Remectant a ce que ledit Seigneur vous en escript Ainsi que faict aussi de sa part mon frere Monsieur le Cardinal vous suppliray (?) audemourant Madame croyre que me trouverez tousjours prest a vous faire tout le service que me commanderez.

"Madame, Je me recommande treshumblement a vostre bonne grace Et pryé Dieu vous donner en sante bonne vye et longue. De Offemont ce xxviii^e May 1554.

"(Signed) Vostre treshumble et tresobeissant frere,

"FRANCOYS DE LORRAINE."

[*Addressed*] "A La Royne La Royne Douairiere descosse."

[Translation]

MADAME,—I am sure you will not be offended that this letter is not written with my own hand, as I have been ill for four or five days. Thank God, I am beginning to recover my health a little.¹ I did not wish on that account to omit sending along with the King's despatch this little note, which will inform you, Madame, that everything is so well prepared that we are ready to set out on the 15th day of next month to join our army and encamp in the open. We are actually beginning to-day to say good-bye to the ladies, and hoping that we shall not return from this journey without changing the plans of our enemy,² who will not have such good means of favouring the voyage and enterprise of the Prince

¹ This sentence affords another of the many proofs, which must impress every student of the private correspondence of the Guises, that they did not consider it right or fair to send bad news to their sister in Scotland, unless they could supplement it with words of cheer.

² Charles v.

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of Spain.¹ Besides what I am keeping to write you with my own hand, I want also to tell you, since you have sought my advice² (although I know you are a lady fit to govern the kingdom and to give order to all things not only in peace but in war, and to make provision for them as you have well and wisely done in the past), that while the weather is mild and calm your frontier should be made stronger than it has been hitherto, so that your neighbours may not come to see you quite so easily, and that there may be some fortress to keep them back. I say this, Madame, not because I consider you less fitted to carry on war than I am, but in obedience to your commands. It would be impossible to act better or more wisely than you have done in taking possession of the kingdom for the Queen your daughter, who, I assure you, is growing every day in beauty and goodness, so that we all feel that she does us honour. I will say nothing about the great satisfaction which the King finds in her and in what you have done for the said Queen your daughter. I leave the King himself to write to you about this, and my brother the Cardinal is writing to you also. I beg you now, Madame, to believe that you will find me always ready to render you all the service which you may ask from me. Madame, I commend myself very humbly to your favour, and pray God to give you, with good health, a long and happy life.

From Offemont, May 28th, 1554.

(Signed) Your very humble and very obedient brother,

FRANCIS OF LORRAINE.

¹ Philip arrived from Corunna in Southampton Water on July 20, 1554, and his marriage to Mary Tudor was celebrated by Stephen Gardiner in Winchester Cathedral.

² We take this as the meaning, if not the strictly literal translation, of the words, "*suyvant ce quil vous a pleu me commander.*" Note the consideration with which this most lovable of French sixteenth-century soldiers intrudes advice, derived from his long experience of warfare, upon his elder sister.

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FROM THE CARDINAL OF LORRAINE TO THE QUEEN DOWAGER OF
SCOTLAND

Balcarres Papers, Vol. II. No. 145

From the Camp near DINANT,¹ July 12, 1554.

[Reference has been made to this letter by Francisque-Michel (*Les Écossais en France*, vol. ii. p. 27 note). It is worth quoting in full, belonging as it does to the remarkable group written by the Duke and Cardinal to their sister during the campaign of 1554, when all the six Guise brothers accompanied the army. The most interesting letter is that of August 19th, in which the Duke, in an autograph postscript, praises the valour of his brothers the Duke of Aumale, the Grand Prior and the Marquis d'Elbeuf, at the bloody battle of Renty. "Madame, je ne veux faillir vous dire que Messieurs daubmalle delbeuf et grant prieur ont sy bien et vaillamment combattu a ceste rancontre quil ont montre estre venu de bonne race" (*Balcarres Papers*, vol. ii. No. 97).]

"MADAME,—Je ne vous escrips la presente pour vous discourir les choses qui sont survenues en ce camp depuis quil est dresse me remectant de cela a ce que le Roy vous en escript presentement, bien vous diray je que au partir dicy nous prendrons nostre chemin devers Namur ou l'Empereur est en personne et a son camp la aupres desorte quil ne tiendra que a luy quil ne nous donne la bataille. Mais il est encores ung peu trop foible et puis en ses pais Il ne voudra rien hazarder. Tant ya que nous luy endomagerons ses pais le plus que nous pourrons, et ne tiendra a nous que nous ne facions encores quelque bonne entreprise avant que nous retirer dequoy et de tout ce qui surviendra vous ne fauldréz destre incontinent advertie. La Royne est demouree a Reims, et est la Royne vostre fille avec elle, qui est quasi tous les jours a St. Pierre avec noz seurs dont elles ont le plus grand contentement du monde Car elles navoient nul plus grand desir que de la veoir, et povez penser laise que ce leur est d'avoir si bonne compaignye et cest heur que de l'avoir quelque fois aupres d'elles. Madame nostre mere se porte tresbien et eus encores hier au soir de ses lettres Madame nostre seur est en tresbonne sante, et nest point encores grosse mais nos seurs Daumalle et La Marquise le sont toutes deux et ont senty bouger leurs enfans. Monsieur nostre

¹ This is Dinant on the Meuse, not far from Namur.

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frere, et tous noz autres freres qui sont icy font aussy bonne chere que lon scauroit desirer, Quant a voz affaires ilz se portent fort bien. Je nen ay moindre sollicitude que vous mesmes auriez si vous estiez icy. Jattens tousiours de voz nouvelles sur ce que je vous escripvis par le contreroleur Astier, et nayant pour ceste heure moyen de vous faire plus longue lettre Je me recommande treshumblement a vostre bonne grace Et prie nostre Seigneur vous donner en sante et prosperite Madame treslongue et tres-heureuse vie. Du Camp pres Dinan ce xij jour de Juillet 1554.

“(Signed) Vostre treshumble et tresobeissant frere,

“ C. CAR^{AL} DE LORRAINE.”

[*Addressed*] “ A La Royne Douairiere Regente d’Escosse.”

[Translation]

MADAME,—I am not writing this letter to tell you of the things that have happened in this camp since it was formed. I leave that to what the King is writing you presently. I may, however, mention that when we leave here we shall take our journey towards Namur, where the Emperor is in person. He has his army with him, so that it will be by his own choice if he does not challenge us to fight. But he is still rather too weak, and also, being in his own territories, he will not wish to risk anything. We shall in any case do as much mischief to his territories as we can, and it will not be our fault if we do not carry through some good enterprise before we quit them. Of this and all else that may happen you will be immediately informed. The Queen ¹ has stayed behind at Rheims, and with her is the Queen your daughter, who is at Saint-Pierre ² almost every day with our sisters. This gives them the greatest possible pleasure, for they had no greater desire than to see her, and you may think what happiness it is to them to have such good company, and of their joy at having her sometimes with them. Our mother is very well and I had letters from her last evening. Our sister ³ is in very good health, and is not again

¹ Catherine de’ Medici.

² Saint-Pierre les Dames, at Rheims, of which the Cardinal’s sister, Renée of Lorraine, was Abbess. The Abbess Antoinette of Farmoutiers was perhaps staying with her sister at the time.

³ The Duchess of Guise (Anne d’Este).

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expecting a baby, but our sisters d'Aumale and the Marchioness¹ are both expecting and have felt the motion of their babes. Our brother² and all our other brothers who are here are as well as one could wish. As for your business, it is going on very well. I take as much care about it as you could do yourself if you were here. I am still waiting to hear from you about that on which I wrote you through the comptroller Astier. As I cannot for the present write you at greater length, I commend myself very humbly to your favour, and pray our Lord that He may give you, with health and prosperity, Madame, a very long and very happy life.

From the camp near Dinant, July 12th, 1554.

(Signed) Your very humble and very obedient brother,

C. CARDINAL DE LORRAINE.

¹ The Marchioness of Elbœuf, Louise de Rieux, was a rich Breton heiress. Her sister married Andelot, younger brother of the Admiral Coligny. The marriage of René of Lorraine and Louise of Rieux took place on February 3, 1554, at Blois. An interesting account of the festivities is given by M. Bourciez, in the first chapter of his well-known book, *Les Mœurs polies et la Littérature de Cour sous Henri II.*

² The Duke of Guise.

APPENDIX B

*On the Date of Two Letters in the First Volume of Prince Labanoff's Recueil*¹

EVERY student of the early history of Mary Queen of Scots must gratefully acknowledge help received from the first forty-six pages of Prince Labanoff's collection of letters. We have within this limit fifteen letters from the child-Queen, and three from one of the best letter-writers of the sixteenth century, her uncle Charles, Cardinal of Lorraine. It is greatly to be regretted that Prince Labanoff, owing, no doubt, to the immense extent of ground he covered—the entire correspondence of Mary's life—did not furnish annotations to the early letters, such as those which make M. Guiffrey's *Lettres Inédites de Dianne de Poytiers* one of the most precious contributions to the history of the period.

A comparison of the work of these two eminent scholars is highly instructive. Many of Diane's letters are, like Mary's, undated, but M. Guiffrey does not fix their place without explanation. If no date is given, he prefaces the supposed year with a mark of interrogation, and in long, careful notes he explains his reasons. The reader is left to form his own judgment, with the assistance of the notes, and the result is that the author's opinion on the letters has never been seriously challenged. His book was published in 1866, and in 1904 Professor Lemonnier (author of Vol. V. in the Lavissee History of France) named it as among the most valuable sources for the reign of Henry II.

French and English writers on Mary's girlhood have accepted Prince Labanoff's dates as accurate, but in one case certainly, and

¹ The greater part of this article appeared in the *Bookman* for May 1907. The only substantial changes are in the closing paragraphs on Mary's letter dated by Prince Labanoff 1552 (*Recueil*, vol. i. pp. 5-8). The writer is now inclined to think, after a careful examination of the movements of the Cardinal of Lorraine in the spring of 1555, that the letter in all probability belongs to the early spring of 1556, and that the decisive clue is the reference to his return "in a month or three weeks," *i.e.* from his journey to Italy.

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in another probably, he fixed upon a wrong year. Except where the date is clearly indicated by the internal evidence of the letter, we should hesitate to accept his decision in other doubtful cases.

Two of Mary's undated letters can be placed at once, as Prince Labanoff saw, in their right month and year. One is the short note which announces the approaching baptism at Meudon of her cousin, Charles, son of the Duke of Guise, in April 1554. The other mentions as a recent event the wedding of Francis de Montmorency with Madame de Castres, and as this took place on May 4th, 1557, it is safe to put the letter in that month and year.

The Cardinal of Lorraine was accustomed to give the full date of every letter, and to name the place from which he wrote it, yet singularly enough, it is a mistake of Prince Labanoff in dating the third of his letters in this volume which has misled so many historians. We refer to the letter written at Villers-Cotterets on "April 8th, 1556," which ought undoubtedly to read 1556-57.¹

A LA REINE DOUAIRIÈRE D'ECOSSE

DE VILLERS-COTTERETS, le 8 avril, 1556.

"MADAME,—J'ay receu les lettres qu'il vous a pleu m'escripre du premier et x^e de mars. Ayant esté très aise d'avoir par icelles cogneu vostre bonne santé, je ne vous y feray autre response, ayant bien amplement instruit et informé Dufautray de toutes noz nouvelles et occurrences, et de ce qu'il m'a semblé vous devoir faire entendre de l'estat des affaires qui se présentent, mesmes de ce qui touche vostre service; l'ayant aussy chargé de vous faire entendre des nouvelles de monsieur mon frère, lequel, et mes autres frères, par les dernières nouvelles que nous en avons eues, sont en très bonne santé. Ilz faisoient marcher le camp pour aller en l'Abrusse qui est une des provinces du royaume de Naples. De ce qui surviendra vous en serez toujours advertye; sachant bien, Madame, que ce vous est grand plaisir d'en entendre de bonnes nouvelles.

"Je m'en vois jusques à Reims, où je trouveray madame nostre mère, et seray de retour en ceste compagnie incontinent après Pasques. Ma dicte dame nostre mère viendra aussy à Nanthueil pour veoir madame ma seur qui y est et se trouver auprès d'elle quant elle accouchera, qui sera bientost. . . ."

He then brings in the oft-quoted references to the illness of Madame de Paroy, Queen Mary's governess, mentioning that she

¹ Labanoff, *Recueil*, vol. i. pp. 33-36.

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is suffering from dropsy, and is not likely to live long. After closing the dictated portion of his letter, he adds the following important paragraphs in his own writing :—

“Madame, Je vous supplie ne point perdre l'anvy de venir icy, car il est plus que nécessaire. Je vous manderay par Dufaultray toutes choses au long ; mais surtout il faut veoir quant le Roy d'Angleterre partira, et quelle conclusion il aura faict avec sa femme.

“Madame, quant à Madame de Parroys, elle se voudra retirer ; et quant la maladie ne l'eust contrainst nous espérions bien, à vostre venue, que vous ne la luy laisseriez. Elle est fame de bien, maiz et vous et toute vostre race luy seront à jamais mal attenuz, et si a cuidé couster la vie à la Royne vostre fille qui en a extrêmement et sagement enduré tant que elle et moy avons pansé qu'il ne fust seu, mais à la fin le tamps a decouvert tant de choses qui n'est plus possible les porter.

“Le Roy et la Royne désirent bien luy veoir une dame d'honneur de qualité, et m'a dit le Roy que puisque cest hiver il délibère la marier—chose dont je ne doute si vous venez mais si vous ne veniez je ne le puis croire—il voudroit que madame la Maréchalle de La Marche, comtesse de Brène, la fut. Il dict qu'il ne luy espargnera une bonne pansion pour luy faire accepter. La Royne le desire encore plus, et aussi la Royne vostre fille ; mais madame nostre mère vous en mandera son opinion, car ils la veulent françoise, et n'est raisonnable [ne] les complaire. Je croy que il ne s'en pourroit trouver de plus propre ni de meilleure maison ; vous entendrez tout par Dufaultray et en ordonnerez.

“Quant à Monsieur d'Oisel, il n'i a eu ordre pour ceste heure ; mais je pense assuremant que le Roy, à vostre venue, ne vous en refuseroyt. Il fault y aller ung peu doucement.

“Ce sera bien faict, pour garder les status, que vous commendiez que les héritiers du comte d'Angous renvoyent le collier de deçà.

“Vous avez veu, madame, ce que la Royne vostre fille et moy vous avons escript de Chantilly touchant les biens du comte d'Angous, dont nous ne vous ferons reditte. Bien vous assurerè-ge, madame, que n'est rien plus beau ne plus honneste que la Royne vostre fille, et si est fort dévote. Elle gouverne le Roy et la Royne. Monsieur n'est point encores en ceste court, mais il y viendra après ces Pasques. Nous le tenons pour fort bien guéri.—Votre très humble et très obéissant frère,

“C. CARDINAL DE LORRAINE.”

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Reasons for Assigning this Letter to 1557, not 1556

(1) The day of the month is in itself conclusive. Easter Day, in 1556, fell on April 5th ; in 1557 it fell on April 18th. The Cardinal's letter was written before Easter, as we see from the sentence : " I am going to Reims, where I shall meet our mother, and I shall be back in this company immediately after Easter."

It was the Cardinal's custom, as we learn from the Venetian ambassador, Soranzo, to withdraw from court each year as Easter approached, to retire to a religious house and give himself to devotional exercises. He preached Lenten courses of sermons in Reims Cathedral when State business permitted. This letter was written on the Thursday before Holy Week, on the eve of his departure for his diocese.

Why was Prince Labanoff misled with so clear a sentence before him ? Probably because, while noting that the new year, according to the old style, began on March 25th,¹ he did not realise that this was not a hard and fast rule in France in the sixteenth century, and that Easter is the date from which the new year is frequently reckoned. Letters of Diane de Poitiers, which in the original are dated April 4 and April 12, and which clearly belong to 1552, are headed by M. Guiffrey 1551-52.²

(2) The letter must belong to April 1557, because of the sentence alluding to the Duke of Guise's expedition to Italy. The Cardinal says he has instructed Dufautray, whom he is sending to Scotland, " to give you news of monsieur my brother, who is in very good health, according to the latest news we have received, and my other brothers also. They were moving the camp to go into the Abruzzi, which is one of the provinces of the kingdom of Naples."

The Duke of Guise left court on November 16th, 1556, on his unfortunate Italian venture. Dr. Wotton, writing on November 17th, says :—" Yesterday the Duke of Guise took leave for Piedmont, accompanied by his two brothers, the Duke of Aumale, the Marquis d'Elbœuf, the Duke of Nemours, and others." ³ In the last days of December the Duke, with his army, crossed the Alps. At the beginning of Lent 1557 he reached Rome, where a month was wasted. His delay in marching towards Naples caused surprise

¹ Vol. i., Preface, p. 15.

² In J. J. Bond's *Handy Book for Verifying Dates* (1866 edition, pp. 21, 22) is stated that in different districts of France the year began at different dates, 25th March, Christmas Day, Easter Eve, and 1st January.

³ *Foreign Calendar*, " Mary," p. 276.

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and doubt at home. On April 27th, Dr. Wotton wrote : "The Venetian Ambassador says that it is concluded that the Duke of Guise shall invade Naples, and that by this time the army has marched."¹ This information, supplied by Wotton a week after Easter, corresponds with that which was known to the Cardinal ten days before the close of Lent. In April 1556, the Truce of Vaucelles was still unbroken, and the Duke of Guise was in France.

(3) The autograph sentence in which Philip of Spain is alluded to confirms the date we have given, "I shall inform you through Dufaultray of everything at length ; but, above all, we must see when the King of England will start, and what arrangement he will have made with his wife." Philip's stay in England in 1557 lasted nearly four months (March 18th-July 3rd). "The immediate object of his visit—to induce Mary to join him in his impending war with France—was one in favour of which his arguments might well appear irresistible."²

(4) At the end of the letter the Cardinal says : "Monsieur [the Dauphin] is not yet in this court, but he will come after Easter. We consider that he is thoroughly cured."

The Dauphin Francis had been seriously ill in the autumn of 1556.³ On May 6th, 1557, Dr. Wotton writes : "The Dauphin has come to court, apparently well recovered."⁴

Conclusions from the Change of Date

If we assign this important document to April 8th, 1557, two deductions follow ; first, that Mary's governess, Madame de Paroy, against whom such bitter complaint is made by the young Queen in her letters to her mother, remained in her service until less than a year before her marriage ; second, that Henry II. did not propose to marry his twelve-year-old son to a fourteen-year-old bride in the winter of 1556-57. On the latter point there has been great misunderstanding ; and this makes it not altogether a matter of trivial importance for the student to have the date of the letter set right. The Cardinal mentions that the King had told him he proposed to marry Mary this winter, *i.e.* in the winter of 1557-58, and, as a matter of fact, she was married at the end of that winter, in April 1558.

¹ *Foreign Calendar*, "Mary," p. 298.

² *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. ii. p. 545.

³ See the Cardinal's letter to his sister of October 2, 1556, *Papal Negotiations*, edited by Father Pollen, p. 423.

⁴ *Foreign Calendar*, "Mary," p. 303.

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But even such well-informed writers as Mr. Henderson and M. de Ruble have assumed that the King meant the marriage to be a year earlier. Mr. Henderson says :¹ " At last, on April 8th, 1556, the Cardinal of Lorraine informed his sister of the King's intention that her daughter should be married during the coming winter."

M. de Ruble says :² " Henry II. was in haste to attach the beautiful Mary Stuart and the Kingdom of Scotland to the crown of France by an indissoluble bond. In 1556 he decided to marry her ; Mary of Lorraine announced that she was coming. But the Dauphin was only thirteen [he was born in 1544], Mary Stuart only fourteen ; the union seemed premature." M. de Ruble gives the Cardinal's letter as the authority for his statement. He cannot have read it very closely.

A Doubtfully dated Letter of Mary

A wrong date is almost certainly affixed by Prince Labanoff to the following letter, which in his collection is the second of those addressed by Queen Mary to her mother :³—

Sans date (1552).

" Madame j'é resceu les lettres qu'il vous a pleu m'escire par Artus Asquin, par léquèles j'ay veu l'ayse que aviés de ce que je tiens les choses qu'il vous plaist me mander secrètes ; je vous puis asseuer, Madame, que rien qui viendra de vous ne sera sceu par moy ; au demeurant je suis fort aise de ce que avés trouvé bon les propos que j'é tenu à l'Abbé de Quélouin, et quant à ce que avés fait au conte de Hontelé, il me semble que avés très bien fait et mesmes de ce que voulés faire justice, car à ce que je puis entendre, il en ont un bon besoin ; je suis bien ayse de ce que avés trouvé moyen de augmenter vostre couronne. J'escris présentement à Monsieur d'Oysel pour le remersier dé bons services qu'il vous a fait et fait encores de jour en jour, et lui mande comme j'é parlé au Roy pour trouver bon qu'il prist l'estat de chevalier d'honneur ; le quel me respondit comme verrés par les dites lettres que j'écrisà Monsieur d'Oysel, car ils sont ouvertes dans votre paccuet, affin que les voyés premier si sont bien selon votre voulonté ; je les ay montrés à Monsieur de Guise, mon oncle, lequel les a bien trouvés.

" Madame j'é entendu par les gens de mon cousin le conte de Chateleraut, que son père me vouloit envoïer un gentillome qui

¹ *Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. i. p. 96.

² *La Première Jeunesse de Marie Stuart*, p. 147.

³ Labanoff, *Recueil*, vol. i. pp. 5-8.

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m'aporteroit quelques bagues à ses pâques, toutesfois je n'en suis pas certaine. Je vous prie très humblement croire que je ne fauderés d'obéir à tous ceus qu'il vous plect me commander, et pancer que le plus grand desir que je aye en ce monde est de vous être agréable et très obéissante, vous faisant tous les services qui me sera possible, comme je suis tennue. J'ay veu par vos lettres que me priés de trouver bon le don du mariage de feu monsieur d'Asquin à son fils qui est issi. Je vous supplie très humblement ne me parlés jamais que par vos bons commandemens comme à votre très humble et très obéissante fille et servante, car autrement je ne panseroys avoir sest heur d'être en votre bonne grâce. Quant à mon maistre, je fairés comme me mendés. J'ay montré les lettres qu'il vous a pleu m'escrire à mon oncle Monsieur de Guise, pansant bien que le voudriés ainsi ; toutefois pour le commandement que me faisiés, je ne l'eusse montrée n'eust été la peur que j'avoye de ne pouvoir bien démesler ses affaires sans son aide. Je vous escriis encores deus lettres de ma main, l'eune touschant Madame de Paroys et l'autre pour mon maître, affin que puissiés montrer selle de mon dit maytre sans seste ici, affin que on ne pance que m'en ayés rien mandé. Au demeurant je ne vous diray sinon que je pense que mon oncle, Monsieur le Cardinal de Lorraine, sera issi dans un moys ou trois semaines. Je ne vous manderois rien davantage pour ce que mon oncle, Monsieur de Guise, m'a dit qui vous écrit du demeurant bien au longue. Je vous eusse bien écrit en chiffre, mais mon secrétaire m'a dit qu'il n'en estoit jà besoin et que lui mesmes vous i escriroit en chiffre. J'écris aussi une lettre à mon frère bastard, selon l'advis de mon oncle monsieur de Guise ; les dites lettres seront ouvertes afin que lui baillés, si sont bien à votre gré. Je vous ay souvent écrit vous suppliant hauser les gâges de mes fames de chambre et de mon valet de chambre Gillebert, et de mon tailleur Nicolas ; ils m'ont prié vous en ramantevoir : qui sera l'endroit où je vous remersirés très humblement de la peinture ; la Royne en a esté fort aise, mais elle en vouldroit bien en avoir une qui fust aschevée du tout : je me suis faite forte que lui en envoiriés bientost une autre mieus faite et qui sera du tout aschevée. Me recommandant très humblement à vostre bonne grâce, je prierés Diéu vous donner, Madame, en longue santé, très heureuse et longue vie.

"Vostre très humble et très obéissante fille, MARIE.

"Madame, vous m'escuserés s'il vous plect de ce que j'écris si mal, car je avois grande haste.

"*Au dos : A la Royne ma mère.*"

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Difficulties of the Date "1552"

(1) One important clue in this letter is Mary's statement that she had shown her mother's letters to the Duke of Guise, that he had advised her about replies, and would himself write to his sister. The year 1552, it must be remembered, was one of the busiest in the Duke's life. From the middle of August till the end of December he was shut up in Metz, and can have had no direct personal communication with his niece. He was in touch by letter with the King and his family during the siege, but it is personal intercourse and counsel to which the Queen here refers. Between April and August, except for a short interval of repose at Joinville, the Duke was moving about with the army on the eastern frontier. We may fairly assume, therefore, that if the year is 1552, Mary must have shown him the letters before April.

(2) Her own remark that she had heard that the Duke of Châtelherault was to send her some jewels, "*à ses pâques*," "at this Easter," shows that the letter must have been written in the spring. March 1552 is impossible, for in that month Catherine de' Medici was dangerously ill at Joinville, where she was nursed by Diane de Poitiers. Mary mentions the pleasure with which Catherine had received a portrait of Mary of Guise, and her wish to have a better one.

Ten months of the year 1552 are thus accounted for. Was the letter written in January or February? We think it is unlikely, because Mary speaks of letters of thanks she was writing to M. d'Oysel, and he was leaving Scotland in February 1552. On February 14th the Queen Dowager wrote to Edward VI., accrediting to him the Sieur d'Oysel, lieutenant of the King of France in Scotland.¹

(3) It must strike the hastiest reader that this letter is very long and carefully expressed for a child of ten, and that the other letters written by Mary about the same time are much shorter and simpler. On this point Miss Strickland says: "It was morally as well as physically impossible, precocious though she were in understanding, for the little Queen to have written such a letter, unassisted by a governess or preceptor, and indeed without their privity, at so tender an age. Besides, it is clearly, from the circumstances to which it refers, written in the second year of the Regency of Mary of Lorraine, 1555."

¹ Bain's *Scottish Calendar*, vol. i. p. 189.

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To what Year does the Letter belong ?

The question that remains is that of the choice between the early spring of 1555 and 1556.

(a) For the former date the following suggestions may be offered:—

The mention of the letters sent from the Queen-mother, through Artus Asquin (Arthur Erskine), reminds us that in October 1554 Mary of Lorraine had written to the Queen of England requesting passports for Arthur Erskine and John Fleming, with six companions, through England to France and back—to endure for a year.¹ Arthur Erskine may therefore in all probability have been at the French court in the spring of 1555.

(b) The reference to Huntly is important. Mary writes: “As for what you have done to the Earl of Huntly it seems to me that you have done very well, and even in your determination to do justice, for as far as I can learn, they need it badly. I am very glad that you have found means to increase your power.”

Huntly's disgrace and imprisonment date from the summer of 1554, after he had failed to crush the rebels of the Clan Ranald under John of Moydart. The full facts with regard to Huntly's fall are not very clear, but on January 27th, 1554–55, Dr. Wotton wrote from Poissy: “The Earl of Huntly is said to be very straitly imprisoned.”² This expression would fit in well with Mary's letter if we assign it to the spring of 1555, for it shows what was believed in France. The allusion to “doing justice” may refer to the Regent's determination to put down the Highland rebels, to which frequent reference is made by historians at this time. It can hardly refer to her dealings with the Borderers, as Huntly's expedition had been against the Clan Ranald. The expression “*de augmenter vostre couronne*” implies that Mary of Guise was already Regent, and she did not attain this position till April 12th, 1554.

(c) M. d'Oysel had returned from France to Scotland early in 1554,³ and had an interview with Mary Tudor about January 12th. The references in this letter to the good services he had rendered may well apply to the help he had given the Queen Dowager during the first anxious year of her Regency in Scotland. We think, however, that there are three important references which justify us in assigning the letter to the early weeks of 1556.

¹ Bain, *Scottish Calendar*, vol. i. p. 195.

² *Foreign Calendar*, “Mary,” p. 151.

³ Bain, *Scottish Calendar*, vol. i. p. 194.

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(a) Mary mentions that she has written her mother a separate letter about Madame de Paroy. This remark would in itself prove that Prince Labanoff was mistaken in his date "1552." There is not the slightest reason to suppose that any complaints about Madame de Paroy had arisen in 1552, only a few months after her appointment. The Cardinal of Lorraine praised her highly in 1553. The first letter from Mary in which complaints are made of Madame de Paroy is that written at Blois on December 28th, 1555 (Labanoff, *Recueil*, vol. i. pp. 29-32) and the last in May 1557. We think this doubtfully dated letter [marked 1552] must fall between these two dates. The references to secrecy are in themselves significant, and the little Queen, in 1556, was keeping such a guard over herself in matters concerning Madame de Paroy that she at last fell seriously ill. Probably that trouble might have been averted had the Cardinal of Lorraine been at home, instead of in Italy, during the winter of 1555-56.

(b) The reference to the absence of the Cardinal of Lorraine, who is expected "in a month or three weeks," probably gives us the right clue. Such a long absence from court, to students of the Cardinal's movements, points to a foreign journey, and the winter spent in Italy (1555-56) explains Mary's allusion.

(c) The reference to the jewels to be sent by Châtelherault to the Queen reminds us that in the summer of 1556 Châtelherault sent Sir James Hamilton, a gentleman of his house, to Mary with the jewels, which he had retained till then. Mary's receipt is dated June 3rd, 1556. It is given, with a list of the jewels, in Joseph Robertson's "Inventaires de la Royne Descosse" (Bannatyne Club, pp. 3-6), and also in the Manuscripts of the Duke of Hamilton (Hist. MSS. Com., Eleventh Report, Appendix, Part VI.), pp. 41-2.

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